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A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE
PERSIAN PAINTINGS
IN THE
BODLEIAN LIBRARY

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1047. Shirin visiting Farhad at Mount Behistun. c. 1575

MS. Ouseley 316, f. 81 b

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE
PERSIAN PAINTINGS
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BODLEIAN LIBRARY

BY

B. W. ROBINSON

M.A., B.LITT.

DEPUTY KEEPER, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY WIFE
MARY

PREFACE

A CATALOGUE such as this should furnish the fuel, but not fan the flames, of controversy. Its basic purpose is, in fact, simply to present the material in question clearly set out, classified, described, and indexed, both to assist those pursuing their studies on the spot, and to give students of the subject elsewhere an adequate idea of the nature and scope of the collection. But in establishing any system of classification that involves the revision of views put forward by previous writers, the cataloguer must needs tread controversial ground; where this has been necessary, I have tried to walk delicately while keeping my footing firm. The comprehensive system of classification I have used was first evolved for a loan exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1951-2, and was employed a year later in cataloguing the collections of the Kevorkian Foundation in New York. No serious voice having been raised against it in the interval, it is now applied on a larger scale to the Bodleian Library collection.

The Catalogue itself has grown from a thesis written for a B.Litt. degree in 1935-6, but very little of that has survived here in its original form. The general arrangement will be clear from the table of contents. To each section is prefixed, purely for convenience as an *aide-mémoire*, a skeleton historical background, followed by an account of the development and characteristics of the style concerned. In the Safawid period, where classification is generally well established and characteristics obvious, this account is usually confined to a summary outline; and I have avoided detailed discussions of individual artists who are not represented in the Bodleian collection. But in the Timurid period, where the present system of classification sometimes amplifies or cuts across those of previous writers, and where gaps in the Bodleian collection have necessitated a wider treatment for the sake of continuity and completeness, I have felt constrained to write in greater detail.

Then comes the Catalogue proper. General comments on the style, quality, and condition of the miniatures in any given manuscript are included in the preliminary remarks on the manuscript as a whole. Descriptions of the individual miniatures are in most cases confined to the subject-matter; but, where it seemed desirable, particular features of stylistic or other interest have been noted. In selecting miniatures for reproduction I have deliberately avoided those already published elsewhere.

Each section concludes with a list of 'Manuscripts for Comparison'. This feature will, I hope, be found useful, though it makes no claim to be exhaustive. It does provide, however, for each section a representative series of manuscripts in other libraries and collections containing miniatures in the

same style, with brief particulars and references to publications in which reproductions are available. Detached miniatures have not, as a rule, been included, both in order to keep the lists within reasonable limits, and because separate paintings and drawings, as will be seen, form only a very small fraction of the Bodleian collection. I have either personally examined or seen photographs of almost all manuscripts listed as 'unpublished', and can vouch for the miniatures belonging to the style in question. Anybody who has had to do with Persian manuscripts knows that one cannot assume from a library catalogue entry that the miniatures in any given volume are of the style or date indicated by the colophon. Quite apart from the deadly work of Indian and Turkish 'restorers' (all too frequent among the Bodleian manuscripts), and light-hearted attributions to Bihzād and other famous painters, 'archaistic' miniatures (to use no stronger expression) may sometimes be found painted *over* portions of the text (cf. MS. Pers. e. 41) or filling gaps left by the scribe. Alternatively, perfectly genuine miniatures from elsewhere may be stuck on or let into the page, and sometimes whole folios bearing miniatures are bound into a manuscript to 'illustrate' a text with which they have nothing to do. Interference with colophons is frequent. Volumes that have suffered the worst of these outrages have not been included. Altogether nearly five hundred 'Manuscripts for Comparison' have been listed throughout the Catalogue.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the word 'Persian' in the title has been interpreted rather more strictly than has sometimes been the case in previous works on the subject. Not only has Indian work been excluded, but also that produced under the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, and in the dominions of the Ottoman Turks. Miniatures such as those in the *Ḥarīrī* of 1337 (MS. Marsh 458) and the *Kalīla wa Dimna* of 1354 (MS. Pococke 400) seem to have no stronger claim to be included under *Persian* painting than works of the Mughal or Rajput schools.

My warmest thanks and appreciation are due to my old friend and contemporary at the University, Professor Beeston, formerly Keeper of Oriental Books in the Bodleian Library, who first suggested the production of this Catalogue. He has given me constant encouragement, and without his sound advice, ungrudging help, and patient checking of the obscure subject-matter of some of the miniatures here described, the Catalogue could not have been completed in anything like a satisfactory form. His successor, Mr. N. C. Sainsbury, has given me much valuable aid in the final stages of seeing the work through the press. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Dr. Ivan Stchoukine of Beirut for the benefit of his unrivalled scholarship, discernment, and experience on many occasions during the preparation of this catalogue. My gratitude is also due to Sir A. Chester Beatty of Dublin and to Mr. H. Kevorkian of New York, who both made it

possible by their generosity for me to examine their collections in detail, and thus to familiarize myself with much unpublished material of enormous value for comparative purposes. Finally I should like to thank for their kindness and help the Keepers and Librarians in charge of the other important bodies of material that I have been privileged to examine in the course of this work, especially Mr. Basil Gray and Mr. J. Leveen of the British Museum, Professor Robertson of the John Rylands Library, Mr. S. C. Sutton of the India Office Library, the late Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson of the Chester Beatty Library, Dr. Dimand of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, and Mr. Eric Schroeder of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University.

The preparation of this Catalogue has been, in more senses than one, a labour of love; it has been my aim throughout to make it useful, as simple as possible, and worthy of the material it describes, and, whether I have succeeded or failed, the responsibility is mine alone.

B. W. R.

London, March 1958

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ABBREVIATIONS

USED FOR PUBLICATIONS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

NOTE: For a comprehensive Bibliography of the subject, see K. A. C. Creswell,
A Bibliography of Painting in Islam (Cairo, 1953)

<i>Ac. & Bib.</i>	<i>Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia</i> , a cura del Ministero della Educazione Nazionale (Rome, 1927-).
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> , a Journal of the Arts (London, 1925-).
<i>Apollo Misc.</i>	<i>Apollo Miscellany</i> , annual (London, 1950-).
<i>Arnold KD</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>The King and the Dervish</i> (Vienna, 1926). [Manuscript of Hilali in the National Museum, Stockholm.]
<i>Arnold ONT</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art</i> (London, 1932)
<i>Arnold PI</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>Painting in Islam</i> (Oxford, 1928).
<i>Arnold S</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting</i> (Oxford 1924)
<i>Arnold ZN</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>Bihzad and his Paintings in the Zafar-Namah MS.</i> (London, 1930). [Manuscript now in the Library of Princeton University.]
<i>Arnold & Grohmann</i>	Arnold, Sir T. W., and Grohmann, A., <i>The Islamic Book</i> (Paris, 1929).
<i>Ars As.</i>	<i>Ars Asiatica</i> , études et documents publiés sous la direction de V. Goloubew (Paris and Brussels, 1913-35). See <i>Coomaraswamy</i> .
<i>Ars Is.</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> , published semi-annually by the Research Seminary in Islamic Art, Division of Fine Arts, University of Michigan, and the Detroit Institute of Arts (Ann Arbor, 1934-51).
<i>Ars Or.</i>	<i>Ars Orientalis</i> , the Arts of Islam and the East (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, and Fine Arts Department, University of Michigan, 1954-).
<i>Art. As.</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> , curat editionem A. Salmony (1925-).
<i>Aumer</i>	Aumer, J., <i>Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München</i> (Munich, 1866).
<i>Barrett</i>	Barrett, D., <i>Persian Painting of the Fourteenth Century</i> (London, 1952).
<i>Binyon PN</i>	Binyon, L., <i>The Poems of Nizami</i> (London, 1928). [British Museum MS. Or. 2265.]
<i>Bloch et E</i>	Bloch et, E., <i>Les Enluminures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris, 1926).
<i>Bloch et MP</i>	Bloch et, E., <i>Musulman Painting</i> (London, 1929).
<i>Bloch et P</i>	Bloch et, E., <i>Peintures des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris, 1911).
<i>Bloch et PO</i>	Bloch et, E., <i>Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914-20).
<i>Bordona</i>	Bordona, J. D., <i>Manuscritos con Pinturas</i> , notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España (Madrid, 1933, 2 vols.).

- Browne* Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia* (London and Cambridge, 1908-24, 4 vols.).
- Budge* Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia* (London, 1933.)
- Burl. Mag.* *The Burlington Magazine*, for Connoisseurs (London, 1903-).
- BWG* Binyon, L., Wilkinson, J. V. S., and Gray, B., *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933).
- Cairo 1935* Wiet, G., *Exposition d'Art persan (Société des Amis de l'Art) janvier-février 1935* (with *Album* of plates). (Cairo, 1935).
- Cleveland Bull.* Cleveland (Ohio) Museum of Art *Bulletin* (1917-).
- Connoisseur* *The Connoisseur*, a Magazine for Collectors (London, 1901-).
- Coomaraswamy* Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Les Miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston (Ars. As. XIII; Paris and Brussels, 1929)*.
- Darab* Darab, G. H., *Makhzanol Asrar: the Treasury of Mysteries of Nezami of Ganjeh* (London, 1945).
- Demotte 1929* *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Painting* (Demotte Inc., New York, 1929).
- Denike* Denike, B. P., *Zhivopis Irana [Persian Painting]* (Moscow, 1938).
- Detroit Bull.* Detroit (Michigan) Institute of Arts *Bulletin* (1919-).
- Diez IK* Diez, E., *Iranische Kunst* (Vienna, 1944).
- Dimand* Dimand, M. S., *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art* (2nd ed., New York, 1944).
- Dimand MMA* (Dimand, M. S.) *Persian Painting*, a Picture Book (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1944).
- Dorn* Dorn, B., *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1852).
- Dozy* Dozy, A., *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leyden, 1851).
- E. Art* *Eastern Art* (College Art Association, Philadelphia, 1928-31).
- Edhem & Stchoukine* Edhem, F., and Stchoukine, I., *Les Manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul* (Paris, 1933).
- Ethé* Ethé, H., *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903-37, 2 vols.).
- Ettinghausen* Ettinghausen, R., *The Unicorn* (Studies in Muslim Iconography, Washington, 1950).
- Flügel* Flügel, G., *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1865-7, 3 vols.).
- GBA* *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, courrier européen de l'art et de la curiosité (Paris, 1859-).
- Giusalian & Diakonov* Giusalian, L. T., and Diakonov, M. M., *Iranskiye Miniaturi v Rukopisiakh Shah-Name Leningradskikh Sobraniy* [Iranian miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* in the Leningrad collections.] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1935.)
- Glück & Diez* Glück, H., and Diez, E., *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin, 1925).
- Gray PP* Gray, B., *Persian Painting* (London, 1931).
- Gray PPI* Gray, B., *Persian Painting* (Iris Colour Books, London, 1948).
- Grousset CO* Grousset, R., *Les Civilisations de l'Orient* (Paris, 1929, 4 vols.).

<i>Guest</i>	Guest, G. D., <i>Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century</i> (Washington, 1949).
<i>Guirlande</i>	Patris, R., <i>La Guirlande de l'Iran</i> (Paris, 1948).
<i>Hitti</i>	Mohamad E. Moghadan Yahya Armajani, under the supervision of Philip K. Hitti, <i>Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indian Manuscripts, including some Miniatures, in the Princeton University Library</i> (Princeton, 1939).
<i>Holter</i>	Holter, K., <i>Persische Miniaturmalerei</i> (Vienna, 1951).
<i>Hôtel Drouot</i>	Hôtel Drouot, Paris, Sale Catalogues.
<i>Huart</i>	Huart, C., <i>Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman</i> (Paris, 1908).
<i>Iran Soc. Jnl.</i>	Iran Society, London, <i>Journal</i> .
<i>Jackson & Yohannan</i>	Jackson, A. V. W., and Yohannan, A., <i>A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by Alexander Smith Cochran</i> (New York, 1914).
<i>Jhrb. A. K.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst</i> , herausgegeben in Verbindung mit E. Große, F. Sarre, W. Cohn, H. Glück, von G. Bierman (Leipzig, 1924-5).
<i>Jhrb. Prs. Kslg.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen</i> (Berlin, 1880-1940).
<i>J. Ryl. Bull.</i>	Manchester, John Rylands Library <i>Bulletin</i> (1914-).
<i>K. Or.</i>	<i>Kunst des Orients</i> (Wiesbaden, 1955-).
<i>Kühnel IM</i>	Kühnel, E., <i>Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient</i> (Berlin, 1922).
<i>London, 1931</i>	<i>Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art</i> (Burlington House, London, 1931).
<i>Marteau & Vever</i>	Marteau, G., and Vever, H., <i>Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs</i> (Paris, 1913, 2 vols.).
<i>Martin</i>	Martin, F. R., <i>The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey</i> (London, 1912, 2 vols.)
<i>Martin MB</i>	Martin, F. R., <i>Les Miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté 1485</i> (Munich, 1912). [The Chester Beatty Amir Khusraw, P. 163.]
<i>Martin MPT</i>	Martin, F. R., <i>Miniatures of the Period of Timur in a MS. of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair</i> (Vienna, 1926). [Manuscript now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.]
<i>Martin NM</i>	Martin, F. R., and Arnold, Sir T. W., <i>The Nizami MS. . . in the British Museum (Or. 6810)</i> (Vienna, 1926).
<i>Martin NSP</i>	Martin, F. R., <i>The Nizami MS from the Library of the Shah of Persia now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York</i> (Vienna, 1927). [Jackson & Yohannan, No. 8].
<i>Massé</i>	Massé, H., <i>Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde</i> (Paris, 1944). [Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 332.]
<i>Meisterwerke</i>	Sarre, F., and Martin, F. R., <i>Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910</i> (Munich, 1912, 3 vols. and vol. of photographs).
<i>Migeon</i>	Migeon, G., <i>Manuel d'Art musulman</i> (2nd ed., Paris, 1927, 2 vols.).
<i>MMA Bull.</i>	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <i>Bulletin</i> (1905-).
<i>MMA Stud.</i>	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <i>Studies</i> (1928-36).
<i>Morley</i>	Morley, W. H., <i>Catalogue of the Arabic &c. Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1892).</i>

NY 1933	Dimand, M. S., <i>Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting</i> (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1933).
NY 1940	Ackerman, P., <i>Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art</i> (the Iranian Institute, New York, 1940).
Ouseley 1831	<i>Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript Works in various Oriental Languages collected by Sir William Ouseley, LL.D., &c.</i> (London, 1831).
Pallès	Pallès, A. A., <i>Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μέγ' Ἀλέξανδρου</i> (Athens, 1935).
Paris 1925	<i>Catalogue de l'Exposition orientale</i> (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1925).
Pavry	Pavry, B., <i>The Heroines of Ancient Persia</i> (Cambridge, 1930).
Pertsch	Pertsch, W., <i>Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin</i> (Berlin, 1888).
Pijoan	(Cossio, M. B., and) Pijoan, J., <i>Summa Artis: Historia general del Arte</i> (Madrid, 1931-50, 13 vols.).
Pope IPA	Pope, A. U., <i>An Introduction to Persian Art</i> (London, 1930).
Pope MPA	Pope, A. U., <i>Masterpieces of Persian Art</i> (New York, 1945).
Renaissance	<i>La Renaissance</i> (Paris, 1918-).
Rev. A.A.	<i>Revue des Arts asiatiques</i> (Paris, 1924-).
Rev. Arch.	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> , ou recueil de documents et de mémoires relatifs à l'étude des monuments de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge (Paris, 1844-).
Rev. de l'Art	<i>La Revue de l'Art</i> , ancien et moderne (Paris 1897-1937).
Rieu	Rieu, C., <i>Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum</i> (London, 1879-95, 3 vols. and Supplement).
Robinson	Robinson, B. W., <i>The Kevorkian Collection: Islamic and Indian Manuscripts, Miniature Paintings and Drawings</i> (the Kevorkian Foundation, New York, 1953).
Robinson LE	Robinson, B. W., <i>Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Persian Miniature Paintings from British Collections</i> (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1951).
Robinson MMA	Robinson, B. W., <i>Persian Painting</i> (Metropolitan Museum of Art 'Miniatures', New York, 1953).
Robinson PM	Robinson, B. W., <i>Persian Miniatures</i> (Oxford, 1957).
Robinson VAM	Robinson, B. W., <i>Persian Paintings</i> (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1952).
Rosen	Rosen, V., <i>Les Manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales</i> (St. Petersburg, 1886).
Sakisian	Sakisian, A., <i>La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle</i> (Paris and Brussels, 1929).
San Francisco 1937	<i>Catalogue of an Exhibition of Islamic Art</i> (M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, 1937).
Schroeder	Schroeder, E., <i>Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).
Schroeder IBP	Schroeder, E., <i>Iranian Book Painting</i> (the Iranian Institute, New York, 1940).
Schulz	Schulz, P. W., <i>Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei</i> (Leipzig, 1914, 2 vols.).
SFRMP Bull.	Société française de reproductions de MSS à peintures <i>Bulletin</i> (Paris, 1911-38).
Sotheby	Sotheby & Co., New Bond Street, London, Sale Catalogues.

<i>Souvenir</i>	<i>Persian Art: an Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House</i> (London, 1931).
<i>Springer</i>	Springer, A. H., <i>Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte</i> (Leipzig, 1923-9, 6 vols.).
<i>Stchoukine L</i>	Stchoukine, I., <i>Les Miniatures persanes</i> (Musée Nationale du Louvre, Paris, 1932).
<i>Stchoukine MT</i>	Stchoukine, I., <i>Les Peintures des manuscrits Timurides</i> (Paris, 1954).
<i>Stchoukine PI</i>	Stchoukine, I., <i>La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers Abbasides et les Il-Khans</i> (Bruges, 1936).
<i>Strzygowski</i>	Strzygowski, J., <i>Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluß an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei</i> im Verein mit H. Glück, S. Kramrisch, E. Wellesz, bearbeitet (Klagenfurt, 1933).
<i>Studio</i>	<i>The Studio</i> , an illustrated magazine of fine and applied art (London, 1893-).
<i>Survey</i>	Pope, A. U. (ed.), <i>Survey of Persian Art</i> (Oxford, 1939, 6 vols.).
<i>Sykes</i>	Sykes, Sir P. M., <i>A History of Persia</i> (2nd ed., London, 1921, 2 vols.).
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria</i> , revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie (L'Institut français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, 1920-).
<i>Tornberg</i>	Tornberg, C. J., <i>Codices arabici &c. bibliothecae regiae universitatis Upsaliensis</i> (Upsala, 1849).
<i>UP</i>	Ettinghausen, R., and Schroeder, E., <i>University Prints: Iranian and Islamic Art</i> (Newton, Mass., 1941).
<i>VAM Neg.</i>	Victoria and Albert Museum, London, official photographic negative number.
<i>Wiener Btr.</i>	<i>Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens</i> (Verein der Freunde asiatischer Kunst und Kultur, Vienna, 1926-).
<i>Wilkinson</i>	Wilkinson, J. V. S., <i>The Shah-Namah of Firdausi</i> , with an introduction on the paintings by Laurence Binyon (Oxford, 1931). [Royal Asiatic Society Morley, 238.]
<i>Worcester Ann.</i>	Worcester (Mass.) Art Museum <i>Annual</i> (1936-).
<i>Yates-Thompson</i>	Yates-Thompson, H., <i>Illustrations of one hundred Manuscripts in the collection of Henry Yates-Thompson</i> (London, 1907-18, 7 vols.).
<i>Zaki TIF</i>	Zaki Muḥammad Ḥasan, <i>Al-Taṣwīr fī 'l-Islām 'inda al-Fārs</i> . [Painting in Islam among the Persians.] (Cairo, 1936.)
<i>Zetterstéen & Lamm</i>	Zetterstéen, K. V., and Lamm, C. J., <i>Mohammed Asafi: the Story of Jamal and Jalal</i> (Upsala 1948). [Upsala University MS., Tornberg CLXXI.]



INTRODUCTION

I. GROWTH OF THE COLLECTION

THE earliest accessions of Persian manuscripts are recorded by Macray in his *Annals of the Bodleian Library* under the years 1602, 1611, and 1620. These manuscripts are not illustrated, and so find no place in this Catalogue. But of the 462 volumes presented by Archbishop Laud between 1635 and 1640 three contain Persian paintings, and were doubtless among those collected on his instructions by English agents in India and the Levant. Naturally at this period no Englishman had an eye for Oriental works of art as such, and they were regarded as mere curiosities; *cum figuris elegantissimis* is a typically undiscerning comment, written in a seventeenth-century hand, to describe the damaged and second-rate miniatures of Laud's Qazwīnī (MS. Laud Or. 132).

In the course of the seventeenth century several European libraries were acquiring oriental manuscripts, but their agents were frequently put upon, and Dr. Pusey's remarks, written in 1835 on the Arabic manuscripts acquired for the Bodleian before that date, might be widely applied: 'Varias errorum formas deprehendi, titulis nunc charta coopertis, nunc atramento oblitis, nunc cultro paene abasis; auctorum porro nominibus paullulum immutatis quo notiora quaedam referrent; numeris etiam, quibus singula volumina signata sunt, permutatis, quo quis opus imperfectum pro integro habeat, paginis denique pauculis operi alieno a fronte assutis.' It is not surprising, then, that so few really fine Persian manuscripts were acquired before the nineteenth century.

Only two of John Selden's Persian manuscripts, which came to the Bodleian in 1659, contain miniatures; and though his little Shāhī (MS. Selden Sup. 98) is charming, it was not until the purchase for £55 in 1678 of fifty-five volumes from the library of Dr. Thomas Greaves, deputy Professor of Arabic, that the Library could claim to possess a Persian manuscript of first-rate artistic importance. This is the Jāmī of 1569 (MS. Greaves 1) with its splendid contemporary lacquered binding, marginal decorations, and fine miniatures. Another Jāmī, of 1533 (MS. Hyde 10), purchased from Hyde the Librarian in 1692, is also a fine manuscript.

In 1713 the Bodleian received a large bequest of oriental material from Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh. This included three illustrated Persian manuscripts, by far the most important being the early sixteenth-century *Būstān* with an attribution to Bihzād (MS. Marsh 517).

In 1758 the Trustees of the old Radcliffe Library, at the instance of Thomas Hunt, purchased for £500 the oriental collections of James

Fraser, or Frazer (1713-54), and these were transferred to the Bodleian in 1872. We learn from a letter written in 1760 by John Cleland (now best remembered as the author of the notorious *Fanny Hill*) to Mr. Everard, a fellow of B.N.C., that Fraser 'had translated from a Persian manuscript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thomas Kooly-Khawn) expedition into India, and . . . brought home a curious collection of oriental manuscripts, most of which once belonged to the royal library of Ispahan, and had escaped the rage and barbarism of the Aphgoons or Aghuan invaders under Emir Veiss and his successors.'¹ Cleland had been Consul at Smyrna and an East India Company servant, and had obtained from Fraser an album of Indian miniatures, which was presented to the Bodleian in 1737 by Alexander Pope. In view of their reputed provenance, the Fraser manuscripts are disappointing from an artistic point of view, and the only one really worthy of a royal library is the early sixteenth-century three-volume Sa'dī (MSS. Fraser 73-75) with its intricate double-page frontispiece and faultless illuminations. The circumstances of the purchase of the Fraser manuscripts are set out in the *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. iv, pp. 128 ff.

The only manuscript in this Catalogue that was obtained by the Bodleian between this time and 1844 is the sumptuous *Intikhāb i Ḥadīqa* from the Canonici collection (MS. Canonici Or. 122). Matheo Luigi Canonici was a Venetian Jesuit who died in 1806, and whose collection of 2,045 manuscripts was purchased by the Bodleian in 1817 for the then unprecedented sum of £5,444. Only 135 of these, however, are oriental, and even they are Hebrew for the most part.

The years between 1844 and 1859 saw the addition of more than 1,200 Arabic and Persian manuscripts to the Bodleian, which transformed the whole character of the collection. Most of these had been acquired in Persia by the brothers Sir Gore and Sir William Ouseley during their mission to the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh in 1810-12, when the former was Ambassador and the latter his private secretary. Both were good Persian scholars, and Sir Gore Ouseley in particular had concentrated on securing fine copies of the Persian poets, of whom he published studies and translations. Sir William Ouseley's manuscripts, about 750 in all, were bought in 1844 for £2,000. A summary catalogue of them had been published in London in 1831 under the title of *Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript Works in various Oriental Languages collected by Sir William Ouseley, LL.D. &c.*, with the items of which a number of manuscripts in the present catalogue have been identified. But a notable exception seems to be Nos.

¹ It was actually under Maḥmūd that the Afghans took Isfahan in 1722, which they held until 1729; Mir Wais, Maḥmūd's father, had struck the first blows at Persian supremacy by taking Qandahar and defeating two Persian armies in 1709-11, but had died in 1715.

56-61, the works of Nizāmī, bound in red Morocco, with eight miniatures, 'one of the finest manuscripts in Europe', bought by Sir William for nineteen guineas. None of the Bodleian manuscripts of Nizāmī can be made to fit this description.

Of Sir Gore Ouseley's collection, thirty-nine choice volumes were acquired in 1858 from his son, the Rev. Sir Fred. Gore Ouseley, Bart., for £500, and in the following year Mr. J. B. Elliot of Patna presented to the Library 422 manuscripts, most of which he had bought from Sir Gore Ouseley's collection on the latter's death in 1844. The Elliot and Ouseley manuscripts, it is hardly necessary to add, comprise the largest and finest body of material of their kind in the Library. In the present Catalogue they outnumber the combined total from all other sources by well over two to one, and include, among many other splendid volumes, the *Shāhnāma* of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāh Rukh (MS. Ouseley Add. 176), and four parts of the *Khamṣa* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī copied for Prince Badī' al-Zamān in 1485 (MSS. Elliot 287, 317, 339, and 408). The fifth part must have become somehow separated from its fellows after Sir Gore Ouseley's death, and is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Turk. MS. 3).

Nothing of comparable artistic importance in this Catalogue has been acquired by the Bodleian Library since Mr. Elliot's munificent gift of nearly a century ago.

II. SCOPE OF THE COLLECTION

The Bodleian collection was thus formed long before Persian illuminations and miniature paintings began to be appreciated in Europe for their own sake. It is therefore not to be expected that from the artistic point of view it will be fully representative or evenly proportioned; but it is nevertheless remarkable how many of the successive styles of Persian painting are well exemplified, and how many of the manuscripts are of high quality.

The three-volume novel, *Kitāb i Samak 'Ayyār* (MSS. Ouseley 279-281) with its paintings of the Injū style, is the only representative of the Mongol period. Though of considerable interest, its miniatures cannot be compared in quality with those produced in the north-west during the same epoch—for example in the Morgan Bestiary, the Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī, the Rashīd al-Dīn of 1314, and the Demotte *Shāhnāma*. Shīrāz painting under the Injū rulers has been described as a folk-art—a just description, as anybody examining the naïve and clumsy illustrations of Samak's adventures must agree.

The magnificent *Shāhnāma* produced at Shīrāz for Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāh Rukh shortly after 1430 (MS. Ouseley Add. 176), though it has suffered some damage and repainting, nevertheless remains one of the finest and most important manuscripts in the Library. Otherwise, however,

the first half of the Timurid period is an almost complete blank in the Bodleian collection; only one miniature of uncertain quality adorns the *Shāhnāma* of 1448 (MS. Pers. c. 4). But from the last quarter of the fifteenth century come the four splendid Nawā'ī volumes of 1485 (MSS. Elliot 287, 317, 339, and 408)—among the very finest manuscripts produced at Herāt under the patronage of Sulṭān Ḥusayn and his family—and several interesting examples of provincial work (MSS. Fraser 100, Ouseley 14, 18). The Bodleian is comparatively rich in works of the Turkman style—that unmistakable late fifteenth-century style with its stocky little round-faced figures—of which Shīrāz seems to have become the centre. The *Manṭiq al-Ṭair* of 1493 (MS. Elliot 246), the *Shāhnāma* of 1494 (MS. Elliot 325), and the Nizāmī of 1501 (MS. Elliot 192) are the most notable of this group.

After the establishment of the Safawid dynasty by Shāh Ismā'īl the capital was at first fixed at Tabrīz, but was moved to Qazwīn in 1548, and finally to Iṣfahān in 1598. The periods during which these three cities successively enjoyed the status of capital coincide approximately with three stylistic phases in Safawid court painting, and the names of the cities have therefore been used to designate them, not in any narrow local sense, but to indicate corresponding variations of the metropolitan style.

The earliest stage of the Tabrīz style can be seen in the *Būstān* of about 1515 (MS. Marsh 517). It was, of course, produced during Bihzād's lifetime, the miniatures are closely modelled on his work, and the last of them bears a doubtful attribution to the master himself. The Qazwīn style is well represented in the Bodleian, the best examples being the miniatures in Dr. Greaves's Jāmī of 1569 (MS. Greaves 1), in a fine Nizāmī of about 1575 (MS. Ouseley 316), and—an isolated example—in the 'Ladies' Picnic' inserted in the Amīr Khusraw of 1463 (MS. Elliott 189). The 'Turkman Prisoner', a drawing of good quality which does duty for a picture of Tīmūr in an album of portraits of the Mughal Emperors (MS. Ouseley Add. 173), is also of this style and period, and, as Stchoukine has conclusively shown, has nothing to do with Bihzād and his school, with which this type of work was long associated. A much simplified local variation of the Qazwīn style was evidently practised in Khurāsān—several examples are dated from Herāt and Bākhār— and of this the miniatures in the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of 1574 (MS. Ouseley Add. 137) are typical.

Meanwhile at Bukhārā and Shīrāz local styles persisted throughout the century. The former clung to the traditions of the school of Bihzād, and two Nawā'ī volumes of 1553 (MSS. Elliot 318 and 340) show this brilliant but sterile art of Bukhārā at its best. The two Jāmī manuscripts of 1595–1596 (MSS. Elliot 337 and 418), however, demonstrate to what an extent the style had atrophied by the end of the century. Shīrāz inherited and modified the Turkman style of the previous century, and was soon producing

more illustrated manuscripts than ever. With very few exceptions their miniatures do not approach the best Tabrīz paintings in quality, but, as apparently under the Turkmans, Shīrāz tended to turn out large quantities of good average work for more modest patrons than the Shah and his entourage at the capital. Among the considerable number of Shīrāz Safawid manuscripts in the Bodleian the *Būstān* of about 1510 (MS. Fraser 73) stands out at the beginning of the period as an excellent illustration of the transition from the Turkman style, the splendid *Majālis al-'Ushshāq* of 1552 (MS. Ouseley Add. 24) well represents the mid sixteenth century, and the *Haft Awrang* of about 1570 (MS. Elliot 149) contains good examples of the later work.

One might have expected examples of the Iṣfahān style to be comparatively numerous, but the fact is that its representation in the Bodleian is disappointing. The only manuscript earlier than 1700 is a rather second-rate Niẓāmī of 1646 (MS. Ouseley 317), and, among the few separate pictures only two merit special mention, the 'Girl dancing before a Youth', by Mirzā Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Khānī (in MS. Ouseley Add. 174), and 'Majnūn in the Desert' (in MS. Ouseley Add. 171b).

Finally, the *Shāhinshāh Nāma* of about 1810 (MS. Elliot 327), although its decoration has been left unfinished, contains some good miniatures in the westernizing style practised under Fath 'Alī Shāh, including a number of portraits of 'the Asylum of the Universe' and his ladies.

In the preceding summary of the most important items in the Catalogue and the phases and styles of Persian painting that they illustrate, a few deficiencies will have been noted. It is perhaps hardly surprising to find in the Bodleian no early fourteenth-century manuscripts illustrated in the Tabrīz (or Ilkhānī) style, nor in the later fourteenth-century Muzaffarid style of Shīrāz; examples of these known to survive can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Only slightly less rare are manuscripts with miniatures in the early Timurid court style (such as the Gulbenkian Anthology of 1410) and in the later development of that style practised at Herāt under the patronage of Prince Bāysunghur. The separate paintings and drawings executed in such numbers from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards are very sparsely represented for the simple reason that the Bodleian, as a Library, is primarily concerned with the written word. Such examples as it contains occur in a few albums that were acquired along with the Ouseley manuscripts.

But with these few exceptions the Bodleian Library contains examples, often of outstanding quality, of every main style and period of Persian painting throughout its history, and presents a body of material of the highest interest and importance from both the historical and the artistic points of view.

PART I

THE MONGOL PERIOD

THE INJŪ STYLE

Historical background

- c. 1303. Beginnings of Injū rule in Fars.
- c. 1325. The Injū family, in power at Shiraz and Isfahan under Maḥmūd Shāh, becomes independent of the Il-Khāns.
- 1336. Maḥmūd Shāh put to death.
- 1340/1. Abū Ishāq, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, obtains Isfahan and, in the next year, Shiraz.
- 1353. Shiraz taken by the Muzaffarids.
- 1356. Isfahan taken by the Muzaffarids. Execution of Abū Ishāq.

Development and characteristics of the style

A clear analysis of this style has been given by Stchoukine (*Stchoukine PI*, pp. 93 ff.), who was the first to connect it with the Injū dynasty in Fars, as follows: 'Les peintures de ces manuscrits, simplistes, de facture abâtardie . . . d'un dessin dur et naïf, d'une palette rude et simple . . . sont précieuses en tant que vestiges d'un art surgi sur le sol de l'Iran et conservant les anciennes traditions nationales.' In this passage, describing the Top Qapu *Shāhnāma* of 731/1330 and others of the same group, and in his description of Bodleian MSS. Ouseley 379-81, Dr. Stchoukine, while noting the presence of far-eastern elements ('les nuages stylisés à la chinoise et le motif du lotus'), stresses the essentially Iranian character of these miniatures. But there may also be found in them faint echoes of the Baghdad style which was, indeed, still being practised in a rather sterile form under the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt (e.g. the Bodleian *Kalīla wa Dimna* of 1354, MS. Pococke 400); for we find in many Injū miniatures the line of conventional vegetation running across the foreground of a miniature or bordering a stream or pool, and a treatment of water that recalls miniatures in Abbasid manuscripts of *Kalīla wa Dimna*.

As pointed out by both Stchoukine and Barrett (*Barrett*, pp. 5, 12) the style was essentially provincial. Its origins are a matter of conjecture, and it seems to have vanished without trace on the extinction of the Injū family by the Muzaffarids in 1356.

ŞADAQA B. ABŪ'L-QĀSIM SHIRĀZĪ:
KITĀB I SA MAK 'AYYĀR

MSS. Ouseley 379-81 (Ethé 442: *Ouseley 1831*, nos. 445-7). Foll. 229, 221, and 335 respectively. Vols. I and II, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in.; vol. III, $12 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Modern European bindings of red leather. Fol. 2a is illuminated as a title-page, mostly in gold, with large, firmly drawn designs. Vol. I contains 20 miniatures, vol. II contains 21, and vol. III contains 39. They are typical examples of the Injū style as described by Stchoukine (*Stchoukine PI*, pp. 93 ff., the present manuscript being noted under No. xx), and a considerable number of those in the first two volumes have been defaced. Those in vol. III are slightly different in style, the colour being less vivid and the figures in general on a smaller scale; they invariably occupy the whole width of the page, whereas this is exceptional in the first two volumes. Nevertheless there is no reason to suppose that they are appreciably later, and the whole work may be taken as dating from about 1330-40. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

VOLUME I

1. Fol. 66b. 4.3×4.9 in. Two crowned personages in a tent, and a horse outside. Discoloured.
2. Fol. 37a. 4.9×4.3 in. Three people being killed before five others, seated and richly clad. Damaged.
3. Fol. 47b. 4.7×4.3 in. A prisoner being flogged before a prince.
4. Fol. 61b. 5×4.3 in. An enthroned queen with attendants.
5. Fol. 68b. 4.7×4.4 in. A man carried in a litter approaching an enthroned king. Faces erased.
6. Fol. 79b. 5.6×4.7 in. Two men drinking in a castle.
7. Fol. 89a. 5×4.6 in. A veiled woman before a seated man, with two attendants. Faces smudged.
8. Fol. 109a. 4.7×4.6 in. Battle-scene. Clouds of dust are boldly rendered by large buff spirals on the red background; two of the warriors are represented in the attitude of shooting, but have no bows.
9. Fol. 119a. 4.4×4.4 in. A man seated before a crowned princess, with two attendants.

10. Fol. 127a. 5.5 × 4.3 in. A man falling from a tower, and a haloed bird in a tree. The rocks here are very similar to those in the Top Qapu *Shāhnāma* of 731/1330 (*BWG*, no. 23).
11. Fol. 139a. 4.8 × 4.4 in. A captive before a man with three attendants in a building.
12. Fol. 142a. 4.4 × 4.5 in. A couple in bed in a building with curtains. Faces rubbed and bodies crudely outlined in ink.
13. Fol. 159b. 4.4 × 4.3 in. The battle of Surkh between Kāfūr and Sanjaq. Faces rubbed.
14. Fol. 169b. 4.7 × 4.6 in. Four men joining hands before an enthroned king. Faces badly rubbed.
15. Fol. 179a. 4.6 × 4.7 in. Six bare-headed figures standing in a row while a crowned personage kneels to a turbaned horseman.
16. Fol. 189b. 4.7 × 4.5 in. Four men seated before an enthroned king, with one attendant.
17. Fol. 196b. 5.3 × 5 in. A man fleeing from a battle in the mountains. Bows are being used, but only three have been painted in.
18. Fol. 209a. 4.6 × 4.7 in. A queen with one attendant being presented with two boxes(?) by the leader of a party of four. *Plate II*.
19. Fol. 217b. 4.8 × 4.6 in. The mourning for Farrukhrūz, the mourners kneeling bareheaded under a canopy. *BWG*, pl. XIII B.
20. Fol. 229b. 4.6 × 4.6 in. Three mounted archers approaching a man who has been hanged and is being shot with arrows.

VOLUME II

21. Fol. 238b. 5.6 × 4.5 in. An enthroned king, with attendants, under a canopy.
22. Fol. 243b. 5.7 × 5 in. Battle-scene. A symmetrical composition; though all the combatants are represented as shooting, only one bow has been painted in.
23. Fol. 257a. 4.8 × 4.3 in. A prince riding with his suite among dust-clouds (cf. no. 8 above). A banner projects into the upper margin. Badly rubbed.

24. Fol. 269a. 4.4×6 in. A man being flogged before an enthroned king attended by five courtiers.
25. Fol. 277a. 5.9×5.3 in. Scene in a bath-house. Faces rubbed.
26. Fol. 286a. 4.7×4.6 in. An enthroned king, attended by courtiers, discoursing with a learned man.
27. Fol. 298b. 4.9×4.5 in. Armoured and crowned captive before a king.
28. Fol. 307b. 4.7×4.4 in. Personage asleep in a tent, which a man is stealthily leaving.
29. Fol. 315a. 6.6×4.4 in. A man looking down at a prisoner in a well outside a building in which stands a throne. The prisoner's face has been clumsily retouched.
30. Fol. 328a. 4.5×4.5 in. A man making obeisance to a mounted king. Faces obliterated.
31. Fol. 337a. 4.8×4.5 in. A mounted king preceded by two attendants. Faces rubbed.
32. Fol. 348a. 5.8×5 in. Two seated persons pointed out by a bearded man to an enthroned king, on the upper story of a building.
33. Fol. 358a. 4.8×4.4 in. A mounted king with two attendants. Faces spoiled.
34. Fol. 368. 4.8×4.6 in. A man on the march with his wife and family. Faces damaged.
35. Fol. 377. 4.9×4.3 in. A court-scene with courtiers grouped symmetrically round the enthroned king.
36. Fol. 387b. 4.7×4.4 in. Two men seated before a building, and a shepherd with his flock.
37. Fol. 397b. 4.8×4.3 in. Battle-scene, with the central figure being lassoed by four others.
38. Fol. 402b. 6.6×6 in. Blindfolded man in bed having the clothes pulled off him by another, watched by a third person at the window. Faces badly smudged.
39. Fol. 417b. 4.7×4.5 in. A man being arrested after murdering another whose body lies on the ground. Faces rubbed.

40. Fol. 427*b*. 4·8 × 6 in. Two persons seated in a building in front of a wall in which are many doors. Faces obliterated.
41. Fol. 433*a*. 4·9 × 4·6 in. A man surrounded by four strap-footed (*duwāl-pāy*) ghouls.

VOLUME III

42. Fol. 3*a*. 5·5 × 6 in. A man being killed by a warrior outside a building from the window of which a young man watches.
43. Fol. 13*b*. 4·8 × 6 in. Farrukhrūz weeping at the sight of Gulrū. The faces of two of the four figures have been rubbed. *BWG*, pl. XII B.
44. Fol. 19*b*. 5·7 × 6 in. A man and woman riding camels, their hands clasped, in front of a building from which an armed man is looking.
45. Fol. 31*b*. 5·1 × 6 in. Three warriors place a ladder at the window of a building at which are a prince, a princess, and another person. *Plate II*.
46. Fol. 39*b*. 4·8 × 6 in. Battle between Jamshīd and Khurshīdshāh.
47. Fol. 46*a*. 4·6 × 5·9 in. Samak in disguise dancing before the king and queen.
48. Fol. 53*a*. 4·6 × 5·9 in. The wounded Khurshīdshāh tended by six women and four men.
49. Fol. 61*a*. 4·8 × 6 in. Battle-scene.
50. Fol. 68*b*. 4·6 × 6 in. Battle-scene. Badly defaced.
51. Fol. 80*b*. 4·7 × 6 in. Capture of a man in a tent by a body of horse-men.
52. Fol. 89*a*. 5 × 6 in. Qāṭūs and Khurshīdshāh in single combat.
53. Fol. 94*b*. 4·8 × 6 in. Farrukhrūz and Shirwān-bashan captive before Gharīb Shāh, in front of whose throne are two tethered lions. The figures in this miniature are on a larger scale, and recall those in vols. I and II.
54. Fol. 106*a*. 4·5 × 6 in. Farrukhrūz rescued from Gharīb by Samak. Defaced.
55. Fol. 114*a*. 4·5 × 5·8 in. Apparently a torture-scene; captioned 'Samak's stratagem'.

56. Fol. 121a. 5.5×5.9 in. Battle between Farrukhrūz and Mardān-dukht.
57. Fol. 134a. 4.9×5.9 in. While searching for Mardān-dukht, Samak encounters two human-headed birds.
58. Fol. 140a. 4.8×6 in. Marriage of Farrukhrūz to Gulbūy, Shirwān-bashan, Gītū Numāy, and Jakalmāh. He is represented embracing one of them in a building with six windows, at which the others appear. The faces of the embracing couple have been roughly redrawn in ink.
59. Fol. 148a. 5.2×5.9 in. Samak captive before Qabut Barī. Badly rubbed.
60. Fol. 159a. 4.9×5.9 in. A man ploughing, and two crowned horsemen emerging from a building.
61. Fol. 166b. 5.5×5.8 in. Shams listening to the conversation of Shamat and the fairies. *Barrett*, pl. 5.
62. Fol. 180b. 4.8×5.9 in. Two archers shooting a humped bull in a cave: four fairies above. Damaged by damp.
63. Fol. 189a. 4.8×5.9 in. Bahlān captive before Samak; one of the five attendant figures is represented with a red beard.
64. Fol. 191b. 5.1×5.8 in. Mourners before the head of Khurshīdshāh in a golden bowl.
65. Fol. 201a. 4.9×5.7 in. Marriage of Mardān-dukht, and five other sleeping figures. Parts of the embracing couple have been covered with black ink.
66. Fol. 221b. 5×5.9 in. An old woman speaking against a captive before an armed man and a prince.
67. Fol. 226a. 5×5.9 in. The Wazīr reading a document to Farrukhrūz.
68. Fol. 234b. 4.5×5.9 in. Combat of Mardān-dukht and the champion Barand.
69. Fol. 241a. 4.5×5.9 in. Battle of Mardān-dukht and her amazons against Qābūs.
70. Fol. 251a. 4.5×5.9 in. A captive flogged before Qābūs, who is addressed by Mardān-dukht. *BWG*, pl. XII A.

71. Fol. 261a. 4.5×5.9 in. Battle-scene: Jamūr killed with an arrow by Kīlak.
72. Fol. 268b. 5.8×5.9 in. Samak conversing with Māhūs on a throne. *Plate III.*
73. Fol. 276a. 4.8×5.9 in. Battle between Mardān-dukht and Lāl.
74. Fol. 283b. 5.1×5.9 in. Tāj-dukht kills Gulbūy, Shirwan-bashan, Gītī Numāy, and Jakalmāh, and takes away Marzubānshāh.
75. Fol. 288a. 5.2×5.9 in. Tāj-dukht, hanged by Farrukhrūz, being shot with arrows. One of the eight attendant mounted figures has snakes for arms, and his mount has animals' heads for hooves.
76. Fol. 302a. 4.8×5.9 in. The witch Tighū, captured by Samak, being pressed to death under a rock before an enthroned king and queen. *Plate III.*
77. Fol. 311a. 4.8×5.9 in. Battle between Mardān-dukht and Shamum, the latter being seized by Shirghun.
78. Fol. 321b. 6.5×5.8 in. Two men enthroned under a large tree, with five attendants.
79. Fol. 327b. 4.8×5.9 in. A man in a tent with his throat cut: outside are a horse and three asses.
80. Fol. 331a. Samak before Qaṭus, who is represented as a half-naked hairy man.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 531 A, B)
 Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 6)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- Early 14th cent. ṬABARĪ: *Annals* ('the Kevorkian Ṭabarī'). Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 47-19. 7 miniatures. *Schulz*, I, taf. H, J, K; *Burl. Mag.*, XXII (1912), p. 10, pl. II (D).
- 731/1330. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı. 89 miniatures. Copyist, Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Bahmanī. *BWG*, pls. xv-xvii. *Denike*, pl. 17.
- 733/1333. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 329 (*Dorn*, pp. 316-17). 52 miniatures. Copyist. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-H. . . . 'Abdallāh. . . b. al-Ẓahīr. *Giusalini and Diakonov*, pl. I, 1-5.
- 741/1341. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library P. 110 (and other private collections). This is the manuscript whose dedication to the Wazīr al-Ḥasan Qiwām al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn provided Stchoukine with his clue for connecting this group with the Injū family. *BWG*, no. 24.
- 753/1352. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XIII; *BWG*, pl. XIII A.

PART II

THE TIMURID PERIOD

THE SHIRAZ STYLE

Historical background

1414. Ibrāhīm Sultān appointed to Shiraz under his father Shāh Rukh (Bāysunghur Mīrzā appointed to Herat in the following year).
1421. Chinese embassy at the court of Ibrāhīm Sultān.
1435. Death of Ibrāhīm Sultān: accession of his son 'Abdallāh.
1446. Muḥammad Mīrānshāh.
1451. Abū'l-Qāsim Bābur.
1452-3. Fars conquered by the 'Black Sheep' Turkmans under Jahānshāh.

Development and characteristics of the style

In order to set the Shiraz style of c. 1415-60 in its proper perspective, it seems desirable to give a brief account of its immediate antecedents, although these are not represented in the Bodleian Library.

The break in Persian painting between the Mongol and Timurid periods is complete and fundamental. In particular the new style developed the 'high horizon' technique, whereby the ground is seen, as it were, from above, so that figures can be spaced out in various planes without interfering with one another, thus allowing the compositions to be conceived on a larger scale, with a corresponding diminution of the scale of the human figures in proportion to the whole. It is only in a few northern provincial works (such as the Dunimarle *Shāhnāma* and the Paris Kashānī, see below, p. 79) that one is still occasionally reminded of the single-plane convention of representing figures, which had persisted through the Mongol period from the Abbasid style of Baghdad. At the same time colouring becomes richer and more brilliant, and drawing more finished and delicate.

The earliest known appearance of the new style is in a *Shāhnāma* of 772/1370, the first of a small group of manuscripts apparently executed at Shiraz under the Muzaffarids (1356-93). This group consists of the following:

- 772/1370. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Iṣtambul, Top Qapu Sarayı, no. 1423. 12 miniatures. Copyist, Mas'ūd b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad 'at Shiraz'. *Ars Is.* 1, p. 191, figs. 4-7.

- c. 1390. *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 377. 30 miniatures, including a double-page frontispiece. Colophon apparently stuck over with paper. Blochet *E*, pl. XXIX; Blochet *MP*, pls. LXVI, LXVII; Stchoukine *MT*, pls. IX, X.
- 796/1393. FIRDĀWŚ: *Shāhnāma*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Egyptienne. 67 miniatures. Copyist, Luṭfallāh b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad 'at Shiraz'. *BWG*, pls. XXIX, XXX; *Denike*, pl. 19; *UP*, o.529.
- 802/1398. Anthology. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, no. 1561. 12 miniatures. Copyist, Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Waraka b. 'Umar b. Bakhtiyār, of Bihbahan in Fars. *Survey*, v. 856 B; *Denike*, pl. IV, 23; *Diez IK*, fig. 78; *Ars Is.* III, p. 77, figs. 1-9; *Syria*, II, p. 161, fig. 2, and XIX, pl. XXVI, fig. 2; *Jhrb. A. K.* II, taf. 92. *Note*. Although strictly speaking outside the Muzaffarid period, this manuscript clearly belongs to the Muzaffarid group on stylistic grounds, a conclusion supported by the fact that the copyist, Maṣṣūr, proclaims himself a native of Fars.

Barrett has urged (*Barrett*, pp. 22, 24) that this style originated at Baghdad, to which he assigns the Paris *Kalīla wa Dimna*, regarding the two *Shāhnāmas* as provincial imitations of it. But it may be felt that he has been unduly harsh in his opinion of the latter manuscripts, that there is insufficient evidence for separating them from the Paris *Kalīla wa Dimna*, and that in the present state of our knowledge we must regard Shiraz as the birth-place of the true 'Timurid' style, which thus made its first appearance before the great conqueror after whom it is named. Admittedly Dūst Muḥammad, writing in 1544, attributes the invention of the 'modern style' (*Barrett*, p. 2) or the 'kind of painting which is current at the present time' (Schroeder in *Ars Is.* VI, p. 129) to the master Aḥmad Mūsā, working in the reign of Abū Sa'īd (1317-36). But even if we accept the attributions made to this artist by Schroeder (*op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.), his works are not of the 'modern style' in the same sense as the admittedly inferior miniatures in the Shiraz *Shāhnāma* of 1370. The 'high horizon', for example, is undeveloped, and *chinoiserie* is still rife, especially in the drawing of water, trees, and other vegetation. We still have no means, however, of bridging the chasm between the Injū and Muzaffarid styles of Shiraz; though less than twenty years separate the latest examples of the former from the Muzaffarid *Shāhnāma* of 1370, and though they were produced in the same city, the difference between them is total. This is perhaps the most intriguing mystery in Persian painting: the Injū style vanished without trace, and the Muzaffarid style sprang fully formed from no one knows where.

By about 1390 the new style had reached full development under the Jalairids, and during the next twenty-five years we find it practised in many parts of the Timurid dominions, as shown in the following group:

BAGHDAD

- 790/1388. QAZWĪNĪ: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 332. 95 miniatures, only a few of which, however, are contemporary. Copyist, Aḥmad of Herat. *Martin*, I, fig. 10; *Bloch et E*, pl. xxx; *Bloch et MP*, pls. LXVIII-LXXI; *Survey*, v. 846; *Stchoukine MT*, pl. 1; *Massé*, *passim*.
- 794/1392. *Kahla wa Dimna*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 913. 74 miniatures. Copyist, al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. II, III.
- 798/1396. KHWĀJŪ KIRMĀNĪ: *Three Mathnawis*. London, British Museum, Add. 18113. 9 miniatures by Junayd Naqqāsh (pupil of Shams al-Dīn, who was a pupil of Aḥmad Mūsā). Copyist, Mir 'Alī al-Tabrizī 'at Baghdad'. *Martin*, II, 45-50; *Kühnel IM*, 35; *Bloch et MP*, pl. LXXII; *Sakisian*, figs. 38, 39; *Survey*, v. 856 A; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. IV-VIII; *Gray PPI*, 4; *Barrett*, pls. 8, 9; *VAM Neg.*, L. 1105-6, &c.
- 805/1402. SULTĀN AḤMAD JALĀ'IR: *Diwān*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 32.29. 8 pages of lightly tinted marginal drawings. Copyist, Mir 'Alī. *Martin MPT*, pls. I-XII; *BWG*, pl. LXXIV.
- Note.* Stchoukine has argued strongly in favour of a mid-seventeenth century date for these drawings, but his reasons are not entirely conclusive. This is a problem that can only be solved by the eye of each individual to his own satisfaction; the drawings are unique, and it seems highly unlikely that the case can ever be finally proved one way or the other. cf. *Stchoukine MT*, pp. 35ff.

SHIRAZ

- 800/1397. Two companion volumes of *Ēpics*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 114, and London, British Museum, Or. 2780. 5 and 11 miniatures respectively. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Sa'id b. Sa'd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Qārī. *BWG*, pl. xxxi, *Survey*, v. 857; *Gray PP*, pl. 4; *Barrett*, pl. 10; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. XI-XV; *Robinson PM*, pl. 2; *VAM Neg.*, L. 1086, L. 1110-11.
- (?) 807/1405 NIZĀMĪ: *Iskandar Nāma* (fragmentary). London, Robinson (late French) Collection. 36 miniatures, all but 3 of which are marginal. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ṭayyib. A pocket-size copy (written surface 3 × 2½ in.). *Oriental Art*, Autumn, 1957, pp. 96 ff. (May perhaps have been executed at Yazd.)
- 812/1410. *Anthology*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection. 38 miniatures. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Muṭṭaḍā al-Husaynī, for Iskandar Sultān. *Martin, MPT*, pls. XIV-XVI; *Sakisian*, figs. 44-48; *Survey*, v. 859-61; *Yates-Thompson*, III, pls. XXVIII-XLIV.
- 813-14/1410-11. *Miscellany*. London, British Museum Add. 27261. 49 miniatures and marginal drawings. Copyists, Muḥammad al-Ḥalwā'ī al-Jalālī al-Iskandarī and Naṣr al-kātib, for Iskandar Sultān. *Martin*, II, pl. 53; *Sakisian*, figs. 80, 82, 83; *Survey*, v. 858; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. XVI-XX; *Robinson PM*, pls. 3-5; *VAM Neg.*, L. 1100-4.

TABRIZ

- c. 1410-20. NIZĀMĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 31.29-37. 5 (detached) miniatures. Copyist, 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Sulṭānī 'at Tabriz'. *Ars Is.* IV, p. 479, figs. 1-5; *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LIV.

HERAT (?)

- c. 1410-20. *Katīla wa Dimna*.¹ Tehran, Gulistan Museum. 30 miniatures, including one double-page. *BWG*, pls. XXVIII, XXXIV-XXXVI; *Survey*, v. 865-8; *Souvenir*, 43, &c.
Note. Schroeder (p. 60) makes a good case for this manuscript having been produced for Iskandar Sulṭān at Shiraz. There are, however, some minor stylistic differences between it and the Shiraz group above.
- c. 1410-20. *Historical Collection*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı, No. 282/33052. 20 miniatures. *Ars Is.* I, p. 192, figs. 8, 9.
- c. 1410-20. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Paris, Cartier Collection. 'Many' miniatures, and said to have at one time borne the library seal of Shāh Rukh. *BWG*, pls. XXXII, XXXIII; *Survey*, v. 855; *Marteau & Vever*, I, fig. 63; *NY 1933*, pl. 16; *Burl. Mag.* XXII, pl. III (K).

Besides the three manuscripts tentatively ascribed above to Herat, there is another group, illustrated in a rather less sophisticated style, which Ettinghausen (*K. Or.* II, pp. 30-44) has shown to have been practised at the same centre under the direct patronage of Shāh Rukh:

- c. 1415. RASHĪD AL-DĪN: *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1113. 106 miniatures. *Martin*, II, pls. 42-44; *Bloch E*, pls. XXIII-XXVIII; *Bloch P*, pls. 5-10; *Bloch PO*, pls. XIII-XX; *Bloch MP*, pls. LIX-LXV; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. XLIX-LII; *Browne*, vol. III, pls. II, IV, VI.
- 826/1423. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XVIII. 8 miniatures, and illuminated ex libris of Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān. Unpublished.
- c. 1425. ḤAFĪZ I ABRŪ: *Majma' al-Tawārīkh*. Formerly Tabbagh and Parish-Watson Collections; now broken up, and the miniatures widely dispersed among public and private collections, mostly in America. *BWG*, pl. XXIV B; *Survey*, v. 845, 847-9; *Robinson MMA*, pl. 4; *Art. As.* v, pp. 213 ff., figs. 1-4; *K. Or.* II, pp. 39, 42, 43, figs. 9, 11, 12; *Pijoan*, XII, fig. 474 and pl. XVIII.
- Note.* Until the publication of Ettinghausen's article, this manuscript was thought to be a copy of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn. It bears the library seal of Shāh Rukh.
- 829/1425. ḤAFĪZ I ABRŪ: *Majma' al-Tawārīkh*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı, Hazine 1653. 142 miniatures. Holograph of Ḥafiz i Abrū himself. *K. Or.* II, pp. 30 ff., figs. 1-8; *Ars Is.* I, pp. 183 ff., figs. 1-3 (there described as a copy of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn).
- 834/1431. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, no. 23001. 38 miniatures. Dedication to Shāh Rukh in the colophon. Copyist, Maḥmūd

¹ After a careful examination of this manuscript during its exhibition at the Arts Council in August, 1957, I am inclined to date it c. 1460-70. Its proper place may thus be among the later Herat manuscripts listed on p. 63 below.

(al-Ḥusaynī?). Hermitage Museum, *Travaux du Département oriental*, tome III (1940), pp. 275–86. The miniatures, so far as can be judged from the three reproductions that accompany this article on the manuscript by M. M. Diakonov,¹ are of a more elaborate nature than those in the earlier volumes of the group, and fairly close to the work being done for Prince Bāysunghur at Herat at the same time (see below, p. 62), but the one of Khusraw at Shīrīn's castle (pl. iv) might well have served as a prototype for Turkman style representations of the same subject (cf. *Arnold PI*, pl. xiv, from British Museum Or. 2834, dated 895/1490).

It is among the paintings of this group, in fact, that we may perhaps look for the predecessors of the Turkman style (see below, pp. 26 ff.). There is an obvious general similarity, and the Turkman style makes one of its earliest appearances in a recognizable form in a predominantly Herat manuscript (the mid-fifteenth-century Kevorkian *Shāhnāma*, *Robinson*, XIX) alongside other miniatures in the more sophisticated style that one might expect at the north-eastern capital at that period.

In general, it should be stressed that during the period 1390–1415 it is misleading to speak of the 'Herat style', the 'Shiraz style', and so on; the manuscripts listed above (excepting the first four of the last group), produced at these and other cities, contain miniatures of the same general type, the differences being attributable to the idiosyncrasies of individuals trained in the same basic style, rather than to the divergent canons of a number of local schools. Indeed, conditions had not become sufficiently settled since the death of Timūr for such local schools to have established themselves. Princes like Iskandar Sultān no doubt had their own painters attached to their suites, who followed their patrons from place to place. Thus the paintings produced at Shiraz for Ibrāhīm Sultān and his successors from about 1415 onwards should not be bracketed with the epics of 1397 and the anthologies of 1410–11 (cf. *Stchoukine MT*, pp. 40 ff.); for the latter, though they happen to have been executed at Shiraz, represent not a local style associated with that city, but the general court style of the early Timurid period, and from a stylistic point of view might equally well have been produced at Herat or elsewhere.

But after the appointment of Ibrāhīm Sultān and his brother Bāysunghur to Shiraz and Herat respectively, the style of painting practised at the former city diverges sharply from the court style represented in the manuscripts listed above and carried on at Herat under Bāysunghur. The reason seems to have been that Bāysunghur drew off all the best academic talent from Shiraz and other Persian cities when he set up his well-known school of book-production at Herat. However this may be, the earlier works of the Shiraz artists under the patronage of Ibrāhīm Sultān reveal traces of the Muzaffarid style of the previous century, such as the rather elongated

¹ Confirmed by photographs kindly sent to me by Dr. L. T. Giusalian.

figures and the bold rounded forms of the rocky horizons. This is hardly surprising; some of the artists who had worked for the Muzaffarids at Shiraz were doubtless still alive, and we may perhaps assume that a few escaped the mass deportations of artists carried out by Tīmūr, or, alternatively, that they may have made their way back to their native town after his death. A strong homing instinct seems to have been a Shirazi characteristic at all times. Their training in the Muzaffarid style, by now quite outmoded, would probably disqualify them for the Herat academy.

Assuming, then, that some of the artists who had worked for the Muzaffarids were still living at Shiraz in 1414 when Ibrāhīm Sultān arrived, it is likely that they had seen the type of work produced there over the previous twenty years in the early Timurid court style by artists imported by Iskandar Sultān and others. It must have been clear to them that this style was superior to that in which they had received their training, so, with employment under the new Timurid governor in view, they no doubt set to work to assimilate some of its canons. Their hopes were not disappointed, for Ibrāhīm Sultān was himself an accomplished calligrapher, and a man whose appreciation of fine books was second only to that of his brother.

From such a blend of the Muzaffarid and early Timurid court styles sprang, we may suppose, the court style of Ibrāhīm Sultān. The earliest undoubted example of it that has survived is the Berlin Anthology of 823/1420, dedicated to Bāysunghur, but executed at Shiraz, presumably under the orders of Ibrāhīm Sultān as a brotherly gift from one bibliophile to another. It seems possible, however, that we have an even earlier instance of the style in another Anthology, now broken up, but said to have been dated 820/1417; two miniatures from it were shown at Burlington House in 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 462; *Marteau & Vever*, I, figs. 7, 62), and three others are in private collections in America.

An interesting manuscript in this connexion is yet another Anthology, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (13.228.19; *Jackson & Yohannan*, no. 11; *Pavry*, opp. p. 46; *Ars Or.* 11). Unfortunately all the miniatures except one have been extensively repainted in Turkey, but the text is dated Jumāda I 814/September 1411 by the calligrapher Maḥmūd b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī, the celebrated copyist of the Berlin and Gulbenkian Anthologies and of other Shiraz manuscripts dated between 1405 (British Museum, Or. 2833) and 1429 (Istambul, Milli 489). There seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of this colophon (fol. 127b), though Jackson and Yohannan brushed it aside in favour of several palpable insertions in red ink carrying nineteenth-century dates.¹ However, the paper,

¹ These dates are actually given in the form '123' (on foll. 117 b and 127 b), which Jackson and Yohannan have assumed to be 1230/1815; but they might equally well be intended for 1023/1614. One of the inscriptions accompanying them seems to indicate that the marginal texts were later additions to the original manuscript.

the script, and the illuminations all proclaim the early fifteenth century, and the illuminations in particular point clearly to Shiraz. The paintings already display the types of hats and crowns that distinguish Shiraz painting under Ibrāhīm Sultān and his successors, but the figures are comparatively squat.

When the Berlin Anthology was produced in 1420, the Shiraz painters had not quite settled down into a homogeneous style, as can be clearly seen by comparing the various miniatures from it reproduced by Kühnel in his valuable article on this manuscript (*Jhrb. Pers. Kslg.* LII, pp. 133 ff.). But they had certainly done so by the time the Bodleian *Shāhnāma* was produced for Ibrāhīm Sultān himself, probably a little more than a decade later. In this splendid manuscript the Shiraz style is at its height, developed directly from the more progressive work in the Berlin Anthology (e.g. the battle between Khusraw and Bahrām Chūbīna, *BWG*, pl. xxxvii B). It is characterized at this stage by large figures, tremendous vigour, occasional awkwardness, and a reluctance to introduce unnecessary characters or elements into the illustration of any given incident. The drawing is bold and free, and the colours rich, though, on the whole, subdued. But the pigments employed do not seem to be of so high a quality as those found in contemporary Herat work; some of them have a tendency to flake away, and a certain pale green, which in time rots away the paper completely, was unfortunately popular, many miniatures having been ruined in consequence.

In matters of detail it may be noted that among the male figures in these Shiraz miniatures a wide range of hats and caps of Tartar type is to be found, in addition to the small, neatly tied white turban of the period. In contrast to the practice of the Herat artists in their battle-scenes, body-armour is never shown and horse-armour is almost invariable. Ladies' head-dresses are also different from the usual Herat fashion, consisting of a coloured head-cloth arranged something like a cock's comb and fastened in front with a knot or brooch. A few minor relevant points are discussed in an article by the present writer in *Apollo Misc.* 1951, pp. 17 ff.

By about 1440 the style had lost some of its boldness and vigour, and both the miniatures and the figures in them had become smaller (though to these tendencies the monumental paintings in the Paris *Shāhnāma* of 1444, Sup. pers. 494, are conspicuous exceptions). By the middle of the century the Turkman style had begun to intrude into Shiraz manuscripts, and by about 1460 it had completely ousted the local style.

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Ouseley Add. 176 (Ethé 501). Foll. 469. 11.3 × 7.8 in. Gilt oriental binding of later date. Copied at Shiraz for Ibrāhīm Sultān b. Shāh Rukh, to whom it contains an illuminated dedication (fol. 12a) and a verse panegyric. Ever since its first public appearance at Burlington House in 1931 this manuscript had been dated 'about 1420' until Stchoukine (*MT*, p. 43) advanced it to 1425. But apart from the fact that its miniatures show a very considerable advance on those of the Berlin Anthology, it contains the Bāysunghuri preface, and can thus hardly antedate the Gulistan *Shāhnāma* of 833/1430, which, as Schroeder has pointed out (*Ars Is.* vi, p. 129, note 74), was undoubtedly the first official copy of Prince Bāysunghur's recension of the text. In fact it seems not improbable that the present manuscript was deliberately designed and commissioned by Ibrāhīm Sultān soon after 1430 as the Shirazi reply to his brother's even more magnificent Herat copy.

It is sumptuously ornamented; besides the illuminated dedication already mentioned, foll. 16b, 17a, 17b, and 18a are covered with splendid illumination, fol. 17b containing the signature of the illuminator, Naṣr al-Sultānī. These adornments are in the usual style of the time, but the heading of the Preface (fol. 12b) and a double opening half-way through the volume (foll. 237b and 238a) are executed in the minute unoutlined style of illumination characteristic of Shiraz manuscripts during the first half of the fifteenth century. It is first found under the Muzaffarids (Bib. Nat. Pers. 377) and an isolated example occurs as late as 1490 (Bib. Nat. Pers. 228). Apart from the illustrated *Manuscripts for Comparison* (below, pp. 23-25) in which it is frequently encountered, typical examples can be seen in a Sa'dī of 819/1416 in the India Office Library (Ethé, 1118) copied by Fīrūzbakht b. Iṣfahānshāh, and a little *Barzū Nāma* of 829/1425 in the Library of King's College, Cambridge (Pote 56). It is also found in the Shiraz manuscripts illustrated in the early Timurid court style (above, p. 11).

The present manuscript contains 47 miniatures, of which four are double-page compositions, and 5 tinted drawings; to prevent any further deterioration they have been removed from the manuscript and mounted separately under glass. Many have suffered damage, both from rotting of the paper under the green pigment already alluded to, and from the clumsy attentions of Indian 'restorers'.

Particulars are as follows:

81a, b. Foll. 1b, 4a. 10.7 × 7, 10.8 × 7.3 in. Ibrāhīm Sultān holding court out of doors. He is seated on a carpet under an awning attended by musicians and others (fol. 1b); three tributary princes sit before him

on another carpet while horses and hunting cheetahs are held in readiness, servants bring on a meal, and a major-domo beats off intruders (fol. 4a). This miniature has been very extensively repainted; not a single face has escaped, and on fol. 1b very little of the original surface remains.

82a, b. Foll. 2a, 3b. 10.8 × 7.2 in. each half. Ibrāhīm Sultān on a hunting expedition. He appears on horseback (fol. 3b) spearing a lion, while his henchmen, assisted by a hound and a hunting cheetah, drive a variety of game towards him (fol. 2a). The general condition of this miniature is better than the last, but every single face has been overpainted except for three (one of which is fortunately that of Ibrāhīm Sultān himself) on fol. 3b; the whole gives a splendid impression of movement. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. xxii (right-hand half only); *VAM Neg.*, K. 642.

83a, b. Foll. 6a, 7b. 10.4 × 7.4, 10.5 × 7.3 in. Ibrāhīm Sultān directing a battle against a rival prince. The latter, with an expression of dismay, watches a furious *melée* in the foreground (fol. 6a), whilst the former, calm and confident, brings up reinforcements to complete his victory (fol. 7b). Again there has been considerable repainting, but more of the faces than in the two previous compositions have been allowed to retain their original lineaments. The whole bears a striking resemblance to the double-page battle-scene in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Shāhnāma* copied for Muḥammad Jūkī, another son of Shāh Rukh, about 1440 (*Stchoukine MT*, pls. LXVI, LXVII; *Apollo Misc.*, 1951, p. 22, fig. vii). This represents the defeat of Arjāsp, King of Tūrān, by Isfandiyār, and the latter, whose figure corresponds to that of Ibrāhīm Sultān in the present miniature, may perhaps be intended as a portrait of Muḥammad Jūkī; at least there is quite a family resemblance to existing portraits of his younger brother Bāysunghur.

Apollo Misc., 1951, p. 23, fig. viii.

On the backs of the folios bearing the above double-page compositions are five line-drawings touched with gold, of fine quality but sadly damaged, of various fancy subjects, as follows:

- 84.** Fol. 2b. 10.6 × 7 in. Landscape with flying birds and a lion preying on a wild ass, watched by a lynx.
- 85.** Fol. 3a. 10.5 × 6.9 in. Landscape with animals, birds, and angels in the sky; the central group is of an encounter between a lion and a humped ox.

86. Fol. 4*b*. 10.6 × 7 in. A man carrying a dragon-headed wand riding on a phoenix among clouds and flying birds, to the astonishment of a number of spectators on the ground.
87. Fol. 6*b*. 10.2 × 7.1 in. A man riding on a lion, with a snake in either hand; the spectators include one who has sought safety up a very tall palm-tree. There are clouds above and clumps of vegetation below.
88. Fol. 7*a*. 10 × 7.1 in. A dragon and a phoenix fighting. This and the previous drawing have been retouched in places where the paper has been repaired.
89. Fol. 15*a*. 4 × 5.5 in. The encounter between Firdawsī and the three court poets of Ghazna.
90. Fol. 20*a*. 5.5 × 5.9 in. Gayūmarth, the first king, surrounded by his fur-clad courtiers. The top left-hand corner of this miniature has been patched and repainted. *BWG*, pl. XXXIX A.
91. Fol. 22*a*. 8.7 × 6.7 in. Jamshīd teaching the arts and crafts. His eyes, the cushion on which he sits, and the foliage of a large tree have been retouched.
92. Fol. 24*b*. 6.6 × 5.7 in. The enthronement of Ḍaḥḥāk. This miniature has been only slightly retouched.
93. Fol. 28*b*. Farīdūn with the sisters of Jamshīd. Much of the paper (presumably rotted by the pigments) has been replaced and the whole miniature has been extensively repainted.
94. Fol. 30*a*. 8.7 × 5.6 in. Farīdūn, mounted on a humped ox, superintending the nailing of Ḍaḥḥāk in a cave on mount Damawand. The effect of this fine miniature is somewhat spoiled by the clumsy repainting of the face of Farīdūn; the dress of the executioner, which has rotted, has been patched and also repainted. The miniature may be compared with the equally impressive rendering of this rare subject in the *Gulistan Shāhmāma* (*BWG*, pl. XLVI A), which may have served as a model for it. *Plate IV*.
95. Fol. 32*b*. 3.8 × 7 in. Farīdūn, in the form of a dragon, making trial of his three sons. The coat of Īraj, the central figure, has been repainted.
96. Fol. 35*a*. 4.5 × 5.7 in. The head of Īraj taken by his elder brother Tūr. The garments of both figures have been repainted.
97. Fol. 40*a*. 6.7 × 5.7 in. The enthronement of Minūchihr.

98. Fol. 52a. 8.5×5.7 in. Zāl before Minūchihr, after answering the Mūbads' riddles. The faces of Minūchihr and of one of the attendants have been repainted, and some damage caused by the rotting green pigment has been crudely repaired and repainted.
99. Fol. 62a. 4.6×7.1 in. Rustam catching his horse Rakhsh. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXIII.
100. Fol. 63b. 9.2×6.5 in. Rustam lifting Afrāsiyāb from the saddle. *BWG*, pl. XL A.
101. Fol. 68b. 6.2×5.7 in. The third of Rustam's Seven Stages; he kills a dragon assisted by his horse Rakhsh. This miniature has been slightly patched. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXIV.
102. Fol. 69a. 4.3×5.7 in. The fourth of Rustam's Seven Stages: he lassoes a witch.
103. Fol. 70a. 5×5.7 in. The sixth of Rustam's Seven Stages: he tears off the head of the Demon Arzhang.
104. Fol. 71a. 4.5×6.5 in. The last of Rustam's Seven Stages: he kills the White Demon. There is some repainting on the Demon and on the foliage of the large tree to which Awlād is tied. *Plate IV*.
105. Fol. 73a. 7.7×5.7 in. Rustam encountering the King of Māzandarān, who has turned himself and his horse into stone. *BWG*, pl. XL B.
106. Fol. 81a. 4×5.7 in. Rustam asleep after hunting on the borders of Tūrān. His quiver and the horizon have been repaired and repainted.
107. Fol. 82a. 4.7×5.8 in. Tahmīna, daughter of the King of Samangān, coming to Rustam's chamber. The green tiling in the foreground has suffered badly, and the right-hand corner has been patched. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXIII.
108. Fol. 84a. 5.6×5.6 in. Hajīr captured by Suhrāb.
109. Fol. 89b. 5.7×5.7 in. Combat of Rustam and Suhrāb.
110. Fol. 92a. 4.2×5.7 in. Suhrāb slain by his father Rustam.
111. Fol. 99b. 4.6×5.7 in. Siyāwush embraced by his father Kay Kāūs after passing the fire-ordeal. The latter's coat has been clumsily patched.
112. Fol. 107a. 4.8×5.7 in. Siyāwush displaying his skill at polo. Reproduced in a Bodleian Library monochrome postcard.

- 113.** Fol. 116a. 4.6×5.7 in. The murder of Siyāwush. The horizon has been patched, and there is some repainting on the clothes.
- 114.** Fol. 123b. 4.1×5.7 in. The finding of Kay Khusraw by Gīw. The face of the former has been completely repainted.
- 115.** Fol. 146a. 5.2×5.7 in. Combat of Tūs and Arzhang.
- 116.** Fol. 156b. 6.3×5.7 in. Rustam shooting Ashkabūs and his horse. There is some slight repainting on the foliage of the large tree.
- 117.** Fol. 164a. 5.3×5.7 in. Rustam pulling the Khāqān from his elephant. The horizon has rotted and been repaired, and the elephant's caparison has been partially repainted, as has the bow of one of the archers.
- 118.** Fol. 170a. 3.8×5.7 in. Rustam wrestling with Pūlādward. Part of the horizon has rotted and been repaired, and Pūlādward's surcoat and patches of the ground have been repainted.
- 119.** Fol. 172a. 3.8×6.5 in. Rustam, having been thrown into the sea by the Demon Akwān, who observes the scene from behind a rock, defending himself against a saw-fish (Firdawsī says 'crocodiles'). The rock on the left of the miniature has been patched, and the water repainted in several places (rather than 'ingeniously varied with several different conventions'—*BWG*, p. 55). *BWG*, pl. XXXIX B.
- 120.** Fol. 175a. 6×5.7 in. Bīzhan hunting the wild boars (only one is shown) watched by the traitor Girgīn. The miniature is slightly smudged. Bīzhan is portrayed wearing a coat of mail over his clothes, which is very unusual in Shīrāz miniatures of this period. There is also a tree-stump flanked by shoots recalling those often found in miniatures of the Muzaffarid style.
- 121.** Fol. 186a. 9.2×5.7 in. Bīzhan rescued from the pit by Rustam. The figure of Bīzhan in the pit (which is rendered in pale blue instead of the usual black) is ingeniously separated from the figures above ground by a band of text. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. xxv.
- 122.** Fol. 216b. 7.3×5.8 in. Battle between the Persians under Rustam and the Turanians under Afrāsiyāb after the killing of the latter's son Shīda by Kay Khusraw. One green horse-cloth has been repainted.
- 123.** Fol. 232b. 5.2×5.7 in. Zāl requesting a patent for his son Rustam from Kay Khusraw. Zāl's robe is repainted, and the horizon has perished somewhat.

- 124 a, b.** Foll. 239*b*, 240*a*. Each half 10.9 × 7.4 in. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān holding court in his throne-room (fol. 239*b*), whilst outside, his Queen, on a balcony with her ladies, watches a gardener at work (fol. 240*a*). There is a little repainting on the clothes on fol. 239*b*. The authors of *BWG* (p. 68, top) consider that these two pages should not face each other, but that they have been disarranged by rebinding. Admittedly this was the case with the double-page compositions at the beginning of the volume, but there it is not unnatural that folios should become detached by wear and tear. Here, however, there seems no reason to assume that anything similar has taken place; on the contrary, it may be permissible to suppose that the artist, wishing to portray both Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and his Queen, preferred to place each in characteristic surroundings, and to connect the two halves of the miniature by the garden, parts of which can be seen through the windows of the throne-room. *BWG*, frontispiece (fol. 240*a* in colour) and pl. xxxviii (fol. 239*b*).
- 125.** Fol. 263*b*. 5.9 × 5.7 in. The fifth of Isfandiyār's Seven Stages on the way to the Brazen Fortress: he kills the Sīmurgh. The background of the miniature is plain gold. The face of Isfandiyār has been repainted.
- 126.** Fol. 272*b*. 8.3 × 5.7 in. Rustam, roasting a wild ass, kicks back the rock rolled down on him by Bahman. As in No. 121 the miniature is divided in two by a band of text; in the upper part appear Bahman and a companion behind a mass of rock, and in the lower part, which nevertheless has a horizon and blue sky of its own, is represented the main incident.
- 127.** Fol. 280*b*. 8.8 × 5.7 in. Rustam fleeing up the mountain from Isfandiyār. *Plate I*.
- 128.** Fol. 282*b*. 5.5 × 5.7 in. Rustam shooting Isfandiyār in the eyes with the magic forked arrow. The paint has flaked somewhat from the figure of Rustam.
- 129.** Fol. 309*b*. 4.4 × 5.7 in. Iskandar, guided by Khidr, entering the Land of Gloom. As in No. 121 the darkness is represented by pale blue. The green robe of Khidr has been repainted.
- 130.** Fol. 311*b*. 10 × 5.7 in. Iskandar and the Talking Tree. Some of the green leaves have rotted and been repainted. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxviii; *Robinson PM*, pl. 6; *Pallēs*, pl. 28.

131. Fol. 337b. 5·8 × 5·7 in. Bahrām Gūr hunting with the slave-girl Āzāda. Bahrām's clothes and face have been retouched. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. xxvi.
132. Fol. 342a. 4·7 × 5·7 in. Bahrām Gūr obtaining the crown by ordeal from between two lions, watched by his rival Khusraw. By a curious convention, found also in No. 127, the further ridge of ground behind that on which the main incident is taking place disappears in an arbitrary vertical line, and gives way to blue sky.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 538 A)
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 12)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 823/1420. *Anthology*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, J.4628. Copied 'at Shiraz' for Bāysunghur by Maḥmūd *al-kātib* al-Ḥusaynī. 39 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. XXXVII. *Survey*, v. 862-4. *Jhrb. Prs. Kslg.* LII, pp. 133 ff. *Springer*, VI, pl. X. *Glück and Diez* (Spanish edn.), pl. XLVI bis.
- c. 1435. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 22-1948. (Detached miniatures: London, British Museum, 1948-10-9-48/52.) From this fragmentary manuscript ('the Manuk *Shāhnāma*') 31 miniatures survive. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. XXVII-XXXI. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 3, *Iran Soc. Jnl.*, July 1951, p. 82. *VAM Neg.*, K. 664, L. 1097-9, *Apollo*, Oct. 1949, p. 89, fig. II. *Apollo Misc.* 1951, p. 23, fig. IX.
- 839/1436. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Ẓafar Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXI. Copyist, Ya'qūb b. Ḥasan, called 'Sirāj' al-Ḥusaynī al-Sulṭānī. 14 miniatures. (Additional detached miniatures: Cleveland, Museum of Art; Montreal, F. Cleveland Morgan Collection; Washington, Freer Gallery; Worcester (Mass.), Art Museum; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.) *Souvenir*, p. 35. *Worcester Ann.* 1, p. 39, fig. 8. *San Francisco 1937*, p. 43. *Detroit Bull.* XIV, p. 98. *Demotte 1929*, p. 21, nos. 41, 42.
- 840/1436. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leyden, University Library, *Dozy*, DCXXXI (Cod. Or. 494). Copyist, 'Imād al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥman *al-kātib*. 19 miniatures, one or two retouched in the 16th century. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXXI (one of the retouched ones).
- 841/1438. KHWĀJŪ KIRMĀNĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Vever Collection. 10 miniatures, a few retouched. *BWG*, pl. LIII.
- 841/1438. JUWAINI: *Tārīkh i Jahān-Gushāy*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 206. Copyist, Abū Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Sūfī al-Samarqandī. 6 miniatures. (Additional detached miniatures: London, British Museum, 1948-12-11-5, 6; Worcester (U.S.A.), Art Museum, 1935.10.) *Bloch et E*, pl. XLI. *Bloch et MP*, pl. XCIV. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXXIII. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1096. *Huart*, pls. 1-3, *Worcester Ann.*, 1, p. 38, fig. 7. *Ars. Or.*, 1, p. 106, fig. 19.
- c. 1440. QAZWĪNĪ: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 37. Numerous miniatures, the majority damaged or defaced. Unpublished.
- c. 1440. *Anthology*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 166 Add. 5 miniatures and marginal drawings in gold. Unpublished.
- c. 1440. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 141. 14 miniatures, all faces (except one on fol. 205a) repainted in India. *BWG*, pl. LIX B. *Darab*, frontispiece.
- c. 1440. *Anthology*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXII. Oblong shape. 2 miniatures; the text, on glossy paper of different colours, richly adorned in various styles. Unpublished.

- 844/1441. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 493. Copyist, Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Karīm. 52 miniatures. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. xxxiii, xxxvi.
- 845/1441. QAZWINI: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. London, British Museum, Add. 23564. Numerous miniatures, the majority damaged or defaced. Unpublished.
- 847/1443. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Tehran, Gulistan Museum. 14 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Hanafi al-Shushnaqi, *BWG*, pl. LVA.
- 848/1444. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 494. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Sulṭānī. 17 miniatures. (The double-page frontispiece reproduced in *Schulz*, II, pls. 36, 37, probably belonged originally to this manuscript.) *Ars Or.* I, p. 106, fig. 17. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. xxxviii–xl.
- 848/1444. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xxv. Copyist, Maḥmūd al-kātib. 14 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 848–9/1444–5. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 36. 19 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 12. *J. Ryl. Bulletin*, xxx (1951), p. 71. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. xli, xlii. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1054–72.
- 849/1445. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, C. 1654. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Rashīd. 29 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. lvi. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pls. 8, 9.
- 852/1448. SA'DI: *Dīwān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 160 Add. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 853/1449. *Anthology*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 127. Oblong shape. 3 miniatures. Unpublished. (*London 1931*, no. 459).
- 853/1449. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xxvii. Copyist, Jahāngīr al-Sulṭānī. 17 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 854/1450. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 6. 31 miniatures. *Dimand*, fig. 9. *Pijoan*, vol. xii, figs. 500, 501, 505. *E. Art*, I, p. 28. *Robinson MMA*, pl. 8. *Pavry*, opp. p. 90.
- c. 1450. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Archives of the Academy of Sciences, C. 52. 31 miniatures. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pls. 6, 7.
- c. 1450. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Bombay, Hakim Collection. 102 miniatures, of which 40 are in the Turkman style. *Ars Or.* I, p. 106, figs. 15, 16. *Stchoukine, MT*, pls. xxxiv, xxxv. *VAM Neg.*, K. 652, K. 658, K. 671–702, L. 137–9.
- c. 1450. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamsa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 136 Add. 11 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1450. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma* (NIZĀMĪ in the margins). Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 9. 42 miniatures, some in the Turkman style. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. xliii. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1052–3.

- 861/1457. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xxviii. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Jamālī. 54 miniatures, of which 2 and the double-page frontispiece are in the Turkman style. *Robinson VAM*, figs. 10, 11. *Sotheby*, 16 June 1952, Lot no. 12. *VAM Neg.*, J. 471, J. 473-4, L. 1107-9.
- c. 1450-60. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1112. 19 miniatures, some under strong Turkman style influence. *Stchoukine, MT*, pl. xxi, there dated 'vers 1420'.

THE TURKMAN STYLE

Historical Background

1390. Qāra Yūsuf (of the 'Black Sheep') established at Tabriz.
1420. Qāra Yūsuf succeeded by his sons Iskandar and Jahānshāh. Wars with Shāh Rukh.
1435. Death of Iskandar.
1452-8. Jahānshāh takes Isfahan, Shiraz, and Herat (occupying the latter only six months).
c. 1460. All Persia except Khurasan and the Caspian provinces under Jahānshāh.
1467. Jahānshāh defeated and killed by Ūzūn Ḥasan, who took over his dominions, with capital at Tabriz.
1468. The Timurid Abū Sa'īd defeated and killed by Ūzūn Ḥasan.
1477. Death of Ūzūn Ḥasan: succeeded by his son Khalīl, who was defeated and killed by his brother Ya'qūb after only six months.
1490. Death of Ya'qūb: succeeded by his son Bāysunghur.
1492. Rustam succeeds his cousin Bāysunghur.
1502. Turkmans annihilated by Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī at Shurur.

Development and characteristics of the style

The existence of this very distinctive style has been long recognized, but little agreement has been achieved between the various authorities who have treated it. Examples have been assigned to Herat by Blochet and Kühnel, to western Persia by Schulz, Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, and to Tabriz by Schroeder (see *Ars Or.* 1, pp. 105-12, where the present writer has discussed the whole question in some detail). It is impossible to say definitely where the style began, but it seems to have spread from the north or north-west, and may have originated in the rather simple style of illustration found in a group of manuscripts which may be connected with the court of Shāh Rukh in the early years of the fifteenth century (see above, p. 12). Comparable work is also to be found a little later in the Dunimarle *Shāhnāma* of 1446 from Mazandaran and the British Museum *Anthology* of 1468 from Shirwan (Shamakha) on the west coast of the Caspian Sea (see below, p. 79).

The earliest surviving miniatures in the Turkman style proper may well be those in the British Museum undated *Shāhnāma* Or. 4384, the text of which is written in six columns; the earliest dated examples are in a

Nizāmī of 1446 executed at Abarquh, formerly in the Sambon, Riefstahl, and Garrett collections, and now in the Library of Princeton University (*Hitti* 7). There seems no reason to suppose either that the miniatures of this manuscript were added later, or that the date in the colophon has been interfered with. But the manuscript of prime importance in the study of this style is a copy of the rare *Khāwar Nāma* of Ibn Ḥusām, illustrated with 155 miniatures, a number of which bear the signature of the artist Farhād 'the least of the slaves' (*kamtārīn bandagān*) and the date 881/1477. This manuscript, the text of which is dated 854/1450 in a probably supposititious colophon, has now been broken up; seven of the miniatures are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and the remainder in America.¹ In Farhād's work we find the style for the first time fully developed. He is otherwise unknown, but must have been a painter of considerable originality and some standing; no prototypes for illustrations of the *Khāwar Nāma* existed, so far as we know, and all these scenes from the legendary careers of 'Alī and his companions must have made large demands on his inventive faculties. His work is broad and on a comparatively large scale; the miniatures are nearly 7 in. in height by 8 in. to 10½ in. in breadth (according to whether the margin is used or not), and the human figures average 3¼ in. high; the execution is sure and careful. He is the only manuscript illustrator between Junayd of Baghdad and Bihzād who has left us signed work, and the successful reputation that this implies may account for the enormous increase after 1480 in the number of manuscripts illustrated in the style he developed. It is a pity that this remarkable manuscript has shared the fate of the Demotte *Shāhnāma* in being broken up before the whole body of its miniatures could be made the subject of analytical study.

After an existence of over sixty years, during which it underwent remarkably little change, the Turkman style merged almost imperceptibly during the first two decades of the sixteenth century into the Safawid style of Shiraz, but isolated examples of it are encountered as late as 1548 (Chester Beatty Library, P. 214). The following considerations connect it with Shiraz:

(i) Miniatures in the Turkman style appear alongside others in the Shiraz-Timurid style in four manuscripts which may be dated between 1440 and 1460, viz. a *Shāhnāma* in the collection of Dr. Hakim, Bombay (p. 24); John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 9 (p. 24); Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1112 (p. 25); and Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson* xxviii (p. 25).

¹ I first heard of the existence of this manuscript from Dr. Richard N. Frye of Harvard University in 1953; he had seen it in Persia not long before. He had also seen a small *Anthology* of 70-80 foll. copied 'at Herat' in 814-16/1412-14, with tinted marginal drawings throughout, recalling similar work of a year or two earlier in the British Museum *Miscellany* Add. 27261.

(ii) Miniatures in the Turkman style appear alongside others in a provincial style connected with Shiraz and Isfahan (see *Ars Or.*, I, p. 109) in four manuscripts dating between 1474 and 1486, viz. British Museum Or. 2931 (p. 80) and Add. 18188 (p. 59); Chester Beatty Library, P.162 (p. 80); and Bodleian Library, MS. Elliot 194 (pp. 30 and 76).

(iii) Seven manuscripts dated between 1482 and 1513 and illustrated wholly in the Turkman style are stated in their colophons to have been executed 'at Shiraz', viz. Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 631 and 765 (pp. 59, 61); British Museum, Or. 5770 (p. 59); Czartoryski Museum, Cracow, MS. 3885 (p. 60); Chester Beatty Library, P. 171 (p. 60); *Sotheby*, 3 Apr. 1957, Lot 44 (p. 61); and Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIII (p. 119), the last being transitional between the Turkman and Shiraz-Safawid styles.

(iv) The gradual evolution of the Shiraz-Safawid style from the Turkman style can be closely followed in a series of more than a dozen dated manuscripts between 1500 and 1520 (p. 119).

(v) The three well-known Shirazi scribes, Murshid (not to be confused with the later Murshid al-'Attār), Na'im al-Dīn, and Mun'im al-Dīn Awḥadī have all left manuscripts illustrated in the Turkman style, whilst their later volumes contain Shiraz-Safawid miniatures.

One is justified in concluding from the above that the Turkman style had a continuous existence at Shiraz from the middle of the fifteenth century, and, failing direct evidence of its existence elsewhere, one may assume that Shiraz was its main centre, while conceding the possibility that it was practised at other cities under the Turkman dominion, such as Tabriz and Isfahan. From the number of examples that have survived from the period after 1480, it would appear that at this time Shiraz was the chief provider of illustrated manuscripts for patrons whose position and resources prevented them from aspiring to volumes of the quality being produced concurrently at Herat for Sulṭān Ḥusayn and his family; for, if we exclude these, all surviving late-fifteenth-century illustrated manuscripts, apart from a handful of provincial works, belong to the Turkman style. As will be seen, Shiraz continued in this modest role throughout the following century.

The Turkman style is characterized by stocky figures, the heads being rather large in proportion, a distinctive but limited range of formulas for clouds, vegetation, rocks, and trees, and a style of drawing in which there is little emphasis on line as such. The ground is invariably rendered either (i) in a light colour with conventionalized and geometrically disposed grass-tufts and simplified plants and rocky horizon, or (ii) in a rich green with bushy masses of vegetation picked out in yellow or a lighter green, and no rocky horizon. The general effect is broad and simple—of a 'utility'

style in fact—and it seems to have been only after 1500 that a few large and elaborate compositions were attempted and a greater variety of landscape features introduced, as in the well-known *Shāhnāma* illustrations first published by Martin (*Meisterwerke*, I, pl. 22, and *Martin*, I, fig. 23) and Schulz (II, pls. 47–49).

Male costume, with the round white turbans (only very rarely coloured) and patches of gold embroidery on the long coats, remains unchanged throughout the history of the style, except for an increasing tendency from about 1500 to place large plumes in the turban or helmet. The female head-dress, however, undergoes a change about 1494. Ladies in the earlier miniatures of the Turkman style wear the same head-dress as that found, for example, in Herat work under Bāysunghur (cf. *BWG*, pl. XLII B), consisting of a coloured circlet knotted at the back with the ends hanging down, and sometimes holding in place a piece of white veiling that hangs over the shoulders. In MS. Elliot 325, however, which is dated 899/1494, this head-dress appears alongside the plain white head-cloth that was still in vogue when the Safawids came to power, and which is invariable in later Turkman style miniatures, such as those in MS. Elliot 192, dated 907/1501.

By 1515 the merging of the style into the Shiraz-Safawid style was virtually complete, though as noted above occasional freak survivals of fifteenth-century appearance are encountered up to the middle of the sixteenth century. For its spread to India in the early sixteenth century, see India Office Library *Ethé* 2775.

NIZĀMĪ: *KHAMSĀ*

MS. Elliot 194 (Ethé 594). Foll. 384. 10.4 × 6.3 in. Modern European binding of light brown leather. This manuscript, which has no date or informative colophon, has evidently had a rather chequered career, which may perhaps be reconstructed as follows: It was originally written and illustrated about 1480, the miniatures being nearly all in the Turkman style, but four of them (Nos. 676-9) apparently in the southern provincial style associated with Shiraz. These two styles also occur side by side, as already noted, in the British Museum Nizāmī of 1474 (Or. 2931, though in that manuscript the southern provincial miniatures, being closer in style to those in the Chester Beatty Nizāmī of 1463, may perhaps be associated with Isfahan rather than Shiraz), and in the Chester Beatty Nizāmī of 1481. It is also worth remarking that among the manuscripts copied 'at Shiraz' by the scribe Murshid, one (British Museum Or. 5770 dated 893/1488) is illustrated in the Turkman style, and two others (Cambridge University Library Or. 1280 dated 885/1480, and Freer Gallery, Washington, 49.3 dated 882/1477) have miniatures in this southern provincial style, which was thus clearly practised alongside the Turkman style at Shiraz between about 1475 and 1485, and probably earlier.

It would appear that the present manuscript was still in Shiraz about 1570-80, and was by that time in need of repair. It was then remargined throughout, and a number of miniatures added (Nos. 898-903), as well as some illuminations and marginal and intercolumnar designs. One or two of the faces in the earlier miniatures seem to have been retouched at the same time (Nos. 140, 142, 144, 145).

Lastly, probably in the eighteenth century, the book was in the possession of an Indian owner under whose direction an Indian painter of very mediocre talent set to work to 'improve' most of the miniatures. By this time also several of the miniatures had suffered damage from splitting along the column-rulings on the reverse of the folio, and were clumsily repaired and repainted.

The illuminations comprise a rosette on fol. 1a, a double title-page (late sixteenth century) on foll. 2b and 3a, and headings on foll. 35b (*Khusraw u Shirin*), 122b (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), 180b (*Haft Paikar*), 246b (*Iskandar Nāma*), and 340b (*Iqbāl Nāma*). The central part of each of these latter is original fifteenth-century work, but they have all been enlarged into the upper margin in the late sixteenth century.

Particulars of the 13 Turkman style miniatures are as follows:

- 133.** Fol. 18a. 4.2 × 3.6 in. The Old Woman petitioning Sultān Sanjar. This miniature has been almost entirely repainted in India.

- 134.** Fol. 51*b*. 2.7×3.6 in. Khusraw spies Shīrīn bathing. The figure of Shīrīn has been entirely repainted, as have other parts of the miniature. The composition is identical with that of the same subject in British Museum Or. 2834 of 1490, another manuscript illustrated in the Turkman style, and is usual in manuscripts of this type. The ground in the present miniature is of the luxuriant green variety, with large tufts of vegetation and flowers; in its present state, however, all the details (which were presumably picked out in yellow or light green) have disappeared, except for the coloured flowers. The same is true of the other miniatures in this manuscript with the same type of ground.
- 135.** Fol. 199*a*. 4.3×3.6 in. Bahrām Gūr displaying his prowess to his mistress, who appears over the horizon playing her harp. Bahrām Gūr's face has been repainted in India.
- 136.** Fol. 223*b*. 2.5×3.6 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Blue Pavilion. The faces and other parts of the miniature have been repainted.
- 137.** Fol. 240*a*. 3×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr and the shepherd who hanged his dog. The faces and other details have been repainted.
- 138.** Fol. 245*b*. 2.5×3.7 in. A bearded man kneeling on a carpet with four other men behind him. The faces have been retouched, but not wholly repainted.
- 139.** Fol. 266*a*. 4.5×3.6 in. Captives brought before Iskandar after his victory over the Zangī.
- 140.** Fol. 280*a*. 4×3.6 in. Iskandar comforting the dying Dārā. The face of the former, and parts of the miniature where it has been repaired after splitting along the column-rulings, have been repainted in India; the face of one of the captive murderers, however, seems to have been repainted in Persia in the late sixteenth century.
- 141.** Fol. 294*b*. 4.3×3.7 in. Queen Nūshāba recognizing Iskandar by his portrait. Considerable repainting.
- 142.** Fol. 317*a*. 4.3×3.6 in. Iskandar looking into a mirror. His face has been repainted in India, and that of one of the attendants in Persia in the late sixteenth century.

- 143.** Fol. 328a. 5.3×3.7 in. Iskandar lassoing a Russian Demon. One of the faces has been repainted in India, and thin gold stripes containing rough designs in black have been painted across the miniature where it has split along the column-rulings.
- 144.** Fol. 348a. 4.4×3.7 in. Iskandar conversing with the shepherd from the balcony of the palace. The shepherd's face has been repainted in India, and that of the door-keeper in Persia in the late sixteenth century.
- 145.** Fol. 360a. 3.4×3.7 in. Iskandar and the Seven Sages. His face and the horizon have been repainted in India, and three of the other faces in Persia in the late sixteenth century.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 16)]

QAZWINI: 'AḤĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT

MS. Laud Or. 132 (Ethé 399). Foll. 346. 9.8×5.4 in. Plain European brown leather binding. The first and last folios of the manuscript are missing, so there is no colophon or illumination. On the flyleaf is a note in a seventeenth-century hand, '*Muugisati Pharssi. Liber Persicus in quo describuntur quattuor Elementa cum Planetis aliisque stellis principalibus. Hic etiam tractatur de Constellationibus caelestibus, nec non de Planetis et Animalibus tam terrestribus quam Marinis, cum figuris elegantibus.*' There are no less than 349 miniatures, not counting diagrams and the like, in the Turkman style, which may be dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century—probably about 1480-90. The best of them are of only mediocre quality, much of the work being careless, and many of them have suffered damage, deliberate and otherwise.

Particulars are as follows:

- 146.** Fol. 2b. 2.3×3.1 in. A bi-corporeal woman, which grows as a plant in Yemen.
- 147.** Fol. 5a. 2.3×3.2 in. A female figure representing the new moon.
- 148.** Fol. 6a. 2.4×1.8 in. A female figure representing the full moon.
- 149.** Fol. 6b. 2.8×2 in. A female figure representing the old moon.
- 150.** Fol. 8b. 2.1×1.9 in. A seated man reading a scroll, representing the planet Mercury.

151. Fol. 9a. Circular: diam. 2.2 in. A woman playing the harp, representing the planet Venus.
152. Fol. 9b. Circular: diam. 1.8 in. A large full face in a circle with rays, representing the Sun.
153. Fol. 11b. Circular: diam. 1.8 in. A kneeling armed figure with a sword and severed head, representing the planet Mars.
154. Fol. 12a. Circular: diam. 2 in. A man kneeling on one knee and holding a bottle, representing the planet Jupiter.
155. Fol. 12b. Circular: diam. 2.1 in. A bearded black man with white hair, representing the planet Saturn. He is nude to the waist, and has seven arms holding a crown, a scourge, a shovel, a pick, a necklace, and a rat.
156. Fol. 16b. 1.8 × 1.8 in. A semi-nude figure holding a severed head, representing the constellation Barsāwush (Perseus).
157. Fol. 17b. 2.1 × 1.8 in. A demi-horse, representing the constellation Qit'at al-Faras (Equus minor).
158. Ibid. 2.2 × 1.8 in. A semi-nude man holding a chain, representing the constellation al-Mar'at al-musalsalah (Andromeda).
159. Fol. 18a. 2.1 × 2 in. A galloping grey horse, representing the constellation al-Faras al-Tāmm. (Equus major).
160. Ibid. 1.5 × 1.7 in. A triangle containing nine other triangles, representing the constellation al-Muthallath (the Triangle).
161. Fol. 18b. 2.1 × 1.8 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Ram.
162. Fol. 19a. 2.1 × 1.9 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Bull.
163. Ibid. 2.1 × 1.9 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Twins (joined at the extremities).
164. Fol. 19b. 1.7 × 1.8 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Crab, coloured purple, and of a very curious shape.
165. Ibid. 2 × 1.6 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Lion.
166. Fol. 20a. 2.1 × 1.8 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Virgin, represented as a man with a sickle and a handful of corn.
167. Fol. 20b. 1.9 × 1.8 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Scorpion.
168. Ibid. 1.8 × 1.9 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Archer, represented as a centaur, his tail terminating in a dragon's head.

169. Fol. 21a. 1.8×1.9 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Goat.
170. Ibid. 1.9×1.8 in. The Zodiacal sign of the Water-Carrier.
171. Ibid. 1.6×1.7 in. A grey fish, representing al-Samak al-Mutaqaddimah, one of the two constellations which go to make up the Zodiacal sign of the Fishes.
172. Fol. 21b. 1.7×1.8 in. Two grey fish, representing the Zodiacal sign of the Fishes.
173. Ibid. 1.8×1.8 in. A purple fish.
174. Fol. 22a. 1.7×1.7 in. A creature with an animal head, two feet, and a fish's tail, representing the constellation al-Qiṭus (Cetus).
175. Ibid. 1.8×1.6 in. Three-quarter figure of a semi-nude man carrying a stick and girt with a sword, representing the constellation al-Jabbār (Orion).
176. Fol. 24b. 2.1×2 in. A centaur with a double-pointed sword, representing the constellation al-Qinṭawrus (Centaurus).
177. Fol. 31b. 2.8×2 in. The four angels who support God's throne (the latter shown as a golden disk). They are represented as human figures, but three of them have animal heads.
178. Fol. 32a. 2.8×2.3 in. The Angel al-Rūḥ.
179. Fol. 32b. 2.8×2.1 in. The Angel Isrāfīl.
180. Fol. 33a. 3.1×2.3 in. The Angel Gabriel.
181. Fol. 33b. 2.8×2.1 in. The Angel Michael.
- 182-3. Fol. 34b. 1.7×3.1 in. each. Angels of the first, second, third, and fourth heavens, with the heads of a cow, an eagle, a vulture, and a lion respectively.
184. Fol. 35a. 2×3.1 in. Angels of the fifth and sixth heavens, in the form of a houri and a child. *Plate V.*
185. Ibid. 2.1×3.1 in. Two angels of the seventh heaven, with men's faces. *Plate V.*
186. Fol. 35b. 2.8×2.2 in. A male figure writing on a scroll, representing the recording angels.
187. Fol. 36a. 3×2.2 in. Hārūt and Mārūt hung head downwards in the pit.
188. Fol. 56a. 2.8×1.9 in. A rainbow, represented as a crescent of three stripes, blue, red, and grey.

189. Fol. 60a. 2.7×2.2 in. The Island of Zānj. One of the natives semi-nude in a shirt.
190. Ibid. 2.7×2.2 in. A winged lion-cub and a running ibex.
191. Fol. 60b (with small patches of text). 6×3 in. A dark grey lion-cub, a rat, and a wolf.
192. Fol. 61a. (with small patches of text). 6×3 in. A monkey and six birds, including a parrot and a peacock.
193. Fol. 61b (with small patches of text). 6×3 in. A bird, a nude winged female figure, and a nude kneeling figure.
194. Fol. 62a. 5.2×3 in. Various flowers and a tree.
195. Fol. 62b. 2.5×2 in. The Island of Rām Hūrmuz. A running nude figure with woolly hair.
196. Ibid. 1.1×2 in. A small nude grey figure kneeling on one knee.
197. Fol. 63a. 1.8×2.3 in. A hawk-like bird.
198. Ibid. 3.5×3 in. The Island of Banān. A naked purple figure and a naked black woman squatting.
199. Fol. 63b. 4.6×3 in. The Island of Aṭwārān, which is inhabited by Jinn. A sort of unicorn and a human figure with a wolf's head.
200. Fol. 64a. 2.1×2.2 in. A black woolly-haired man running.
201. Ibid. 2.1×2.2 in. A black woolly-haired man kneeling.
202. Fol. 64b. 2.4×2.2 in. A kneeling brown woman with white belly and posterior.
203. Ibid. 2.1×2.2 in. A bird spreading its wings.
204. Fol. 65a. 2.1×2.2 in. Two birds flying.
205. Ibid. 2.5×2.3 in. An antelope with tusks.
206. Fol. 65b. 2.4×2.2 in. A large brown fish.
207. Ibid. 2.5×2.2 in. A turtle.
208. Fol. 66a. 5×3 in. Two fish, one with tusks.
209. Fol. 66b. 2.1×2.2 in. A crab.
210. Ibid. 2.5×2.3 in. A snake.
211. Fol. 67a. 2.4×2.2 in. A large brown fish.
212. Ibid. 2.5×2.3 in. A young man in the prow of a black boat.

213. Fol. 68*b*. 2.5×2.2 in. The Island of Bartāyīl, off the coast of India. A naked kneeling woman.
214. Fol. 69*a*. 2.5×2.3 in. The Island of al-Salāmaṭ. A fish which comes out of the water and climbs trees.
215. Fol. 69*b*. 2.5×2.2 in. A stream (coloured purple) which turns all to stone.
216. Ibid. 2.5×2.2 in. The Island of al-Qaṣr. The gate of the White Castle.
217. Fol. 70*a*. 2.5×2.1 in. A human figure with the head of an antelope.
218. Fol. 70*b*. 5.1×3 in. The Island of Jābah (incorrectly written حر). Two naked figures, one with its face on its chest.
219. Fol. 71*a*. 2.5×2.2 in. The Island of al-Tinnīn. A dragon which eats two oxen a day, swallowing one.
220. Fol. 71*b*. 2.5×2 in. A sort of unicorn with a black horn.
221. Ibid. 1.8×2.2 in. Marine animals. A bird with a red crest.
222. Fol. 72*a*. 4.7×3 in. A human-headed fish and a large purple fish.
223. Fol. 72*b*. 2.1×2.2 in. A long-nosed brown fish with a double tail.
224. Ibid. 3.6×3 in. Two grey fish.
225. Fol. 73*a*. 3.9×3 in. A barrel-shaped brown fish with a forked tongue, and a fish with red horns.
226. Fol. 74*b*. 1.7×2 in. The Island of Khārak in the Persian Gulf. Five snails.
227. Fol. 75*a*. 2.2×2.1 in. The Island of Jāshk. Native brandishing a sword.
228. Fol. 75*b*. 2.2×2.3 in. A large brown fish.
229. Fol. 76*a*. 1.8×2.2 in. A purple fish called *kawṣaj* ('sword-fish'—but no 'sword' is represented).
230. Fol. 76*b*. 2.2×2.3 in. Fish with long black horns.
231. Ibid. 2×2.2 in. Fish with curious animal head.
232. Fol. 77*a*. 2.1×2 in. Spotted fish with a horn in the middle of its back.
233. Fol. 78*a*. 2.5×2.1 in. Man rising into the air by holding the legs of a stork.

234. Fol. 78*b*. 2×2 in. A native of the Island of Tārān.
235. Fol. 79*a*. 2×2.2 in. The Island of al-Jasāsa. A lion-like creature with a bushy tail.
236. Fol. 79*b*. 2.2×2.1 in. The Mountain of the Loadstone (*al-Miq-nāṭis*).
237. Ibid. 1.4×2.1 in. A purple fish.
238. Fol. 80*a*. 5.6×3 in. Three fish.
239. Fol. 80*b*. 2.3×2.2 in. Fish with a blunt nose.
240. Fol. 81*a*. 2.5×2.2 in. Natives of the Island of al-Muḥṭaraqa.
241. Fol. 81*b*. 2×2.3 in. A mountain on the Island of al-Ḍūḍā, near Zanzibar.
242. Fol. 82*a*. 2.5×2.3 in. Native of the Island of Nahānās driving off birds.
243. Fol. 82*b*. 2.4×2.1 in. A monstrous inhabitant of the Island of Dogheads (*sagsār*).
244. Fol. 83*a*. 2.2×2.2 in. Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea.
245. Fol. 83*b*. 2.6×2.2 in. Fish with eight horns along its back.
246. Fol. 84*a*. 2.1×2.3 in. The head of a fish 400 cubits long (the whale).
247. Fol. 85*a*. 3×2.1 in. The Watch-tower on the island at the meeting of the Seas.
248. Ibid. 2.2×2 in. Three birds on the Island of Balīs (thus in the text; it seems to correspond to Tinnīs of Qazwīnī's Arabic original, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 124).
249. Fol. 85*b*. 2.5×2.2 in. The temple on the Island of the Temple, with a bird perched upon it.
250. Fol. 86*a*. 2.1×2.2 in. A wild sheep on the Island of Jāliṭa.
251. Ibid. 2.1×2.2 in. A fish living in the region of Bartūn.
252. Fol. 86*b*. 2.1×2.1 in. A fish with a rabbit's head and a tail of five serpents, that lives in the Sea of Rūm.
253. Ibid. 2.2×2.2 in. A bird living on the shore of the Sea of Maghrib.
254. Fol. 87*a*. 2.2×2 in. A merman with nippers for hands and feet.
255. Ibid. 2.1×2 in. A brown fish.

256. Fol. 87*b*. 2.1×2.1 in. A purple fish.
257. Fol. 88*a*. 1.9×2.1 in. A fish with wings.
258. Fol. 88*b*. 2.2×2.1 in. A mountain in the sea like pitch with a stream issuing from a fissure at its summit.
259. Ibid. 1.9×2.2 in. A serpent on the Island of Serpents.
260. Fol. 89*a*. 2.2×2.2 in. A fish-woman of the Island of Jinn.
261. Fol. 89*b*. 2.9×2.1 in. Naked man riding a white horse.
262. Fol. 90*b*. 2.5×2 in. Fish with the head of a long-eared rabbit.
263. Ibid. 2.2×2.2 in. Fore-part of a large white fish.
264. Fol. 91*a*. 2.1×1.9 in. Naked brown-skinned woman with a tail and hairy white posterior.
265. Ibid. 2.1×2.2 in. A cow-like antelope.
266. Fol. 91*b*. 2.5×2.1 in. A purple fish called *timsāḥ* ('crocodile').
267. Fol. 92*b*. 2.5×2.2 in. Forepart of a dragon called *tinnīn*.
268. Fol. 93*b*. 2.1×1.9 in. An eel (represented looking rather like a worm). (Arabic text, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 134).
269. Ibid. 1.7×2 in. A fat worm called '*hakmā*' (corresponding to *jalkā* in the Arabic).
270. Fol. 94*a*. 2.1×2 in. An eared fish, the dolphin.
271. Fol. 94*b*. 1.8×2.5 in. A fish called *zāmūr*.
272. Fol. 95*a*. 2.2×2 in. A crab.
273. Fol. 95*b*. 2.2×2 in. A lobster, represented with a forked tail and snakes for legs.
274. Fol. 96*a*. 2×2.2 in. A skink (sort of lizard).
275. Fol. 96*b*. 2.5×2.3 in. A tortoise.
276. Fol. 97*a*. 2.2×2.3 in. Two fork-tailed fish, one a shad and the other called 'clothed-as-an-ass' (*ḥimār-libās*).
277. Fol. 97*b*. 2.1×1.8 in. An anchovy (*ṣīr*).
278. Ibid. 2.1×2.1 in. A frog.
279. Fol. 98*b*. 1.8×1.8 in. Leeches.

280. Fol. 99a. 2.1 × 2 in. Small cat-like creature with curly tail; here the artist has completely abandoned the text, which at this point describes a sort of snail called *'aṭṭār*.
281. Fol. 99b. 2.5 × 2 in. A horse, serving as an illustration to the text's description of a *sea-horse*.
282. Fol. 100b. 2.2 × 2 in. The sea-urchin, pictured here as a sort of tortoise with spikes on its back.
283. Fol. 101a. 2.1 × 1.8 in. A fish called *qarni* (but قَرْنِي in the Arabic text, Wüstenfeld, I. 142).
284. Ibid. 2 × 2.1 in. A dog, illustrating the 'sea-dog' (*sag i ābī*).
285. Fol. 106b. 2.4 × 2.3 in. A mountain near Qazwīn (جبل النر in the Arabic text, Wüstenfeld I. 153).
286. Fol. 107b. 2.5 × 2.3 in. The Mountain of Behistūn.
287. Fol. 108b. 2.5 × 2.2 in. The Mountain of al-Jūdī, on which Noah's ark rested.
288. Fol. 109b. 2.4 × 2.3 in. The Mountain Jabal al-Ḥayat (erroneously copied as بجات in the manuscript) in Turkestan, inhabited by many snakes on which it is fatal to look.
289. Fol. 110b. 2.5 × 2.2 in. The talismanic image on Mount Damāwand.
290. Fol. 111b. 2.7 × 2.3 in. The Mountain of Raḍwā, near Medina.
291. Fol. 112a. 3.3 × 2.5 in. The People of the Cave (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*, i.e. the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus) asleep in the cave of Mount Raqīm in Rūm. Thirteen figures are represented, but no dog.
292. Fol. 114a. 1.8 × 2.1 in. The Mountain of Shakrān; a lamp burns on its summit at night.
293. Fol. 115a. 2.5 × 2.2 in. The Church and Reservoir of Mount Ṭāhir in Egypt.
294. Fol. 115b. 2.4 × 2.4 in. The Mountain of Birds, east of the Nile in Egypt.
295. Fol. 116a. 2.2 × 2.3 in. The Mountain of Farghāna, where plants grow in the shape of men and women.
296. Fol. 117b. 2.4 × 2.4 in. The magical snow figures of a fish and an ox on the Mountain of Nahāwand.

297. Fol. 118*a*. 2.7×2.5 in. The two stone lions of Jabal al-Hind in India, from whose mouths water gushes.
298. Fol. 118*b*. 3.2×2.5 in. A petrified shepherd and his flock on Mount Wāsiṭ in Andalus.
299. Fol. 119*b*. 3.9×2.4 in. A dweller by the River Itil.
300. Fol. 158*b*. 2.8×2 in. The oak-tree.
301. Fol. 159*a*. 3.2×2 in. The apple-tree.
302. Fol. 159*b*. 3.1×2.3 in. The mulberry-tree.
303. Fol. 160*a*. 3.1×1.8 in. The fig-tree.
304. Fol. 161*a*. 2.5×1.8 in. The nut-tree.
305. Fol. 161*b*. 2.5×1.6 in. The willow-tree.
306. Fol. 162*a*. 2.5×1.7 in. The peach-tree.
307. Fol. 163*b*. 2.9×1.6 in. The pomegranate-tree.
308. Fol. 164*b*. 2.8×1.8 in. The olive-tree.
309. Fol. 165*a*. 2.5×1.6 in. Three cypress-trees.
310. Fol. 165*b*. 2.8×1.6 in. The quince-tree.
311. Fol. 166*a*. 2.6×1.9 in. The sumach-tree.
312. Fol. 166*b*. 2.1×1.6 in. The cherry-tree.
313. Ibid. 2.4×1.6 in. The chestnut-tree.
314. Fol. 167*a*. 2.8×1.5 in. The fir-tree.
315. Fol. 167*b*. 2.2×1.5 in. The tamarisk-tree.
316. Fol. 168*a*. 2.5×1.5 in. The jujube-tree.
- 317-19. Fol. 168*b*. 2.3×1.5 in. and 2.5×1.5 in. Fol. 169*a*. 2.9×1.7 in. The text on these two pages speaks of four trees: the service-tree, willow, paeony, and pepper. Which three of these the artist intended to illustrate is obscure; the first and third are painted with pale-coloured leaves and look much more like the willow than the second, which has round dark leaves.
320. Fol. 169*b*. 1.8×1.4 in. The pistachio-tree.
321. Ibid. 2.1×1.6 in. The filbert-nut tree.
322. Fol. 171*a*. 2.3×1.4 in. The vine.

- 323. Fol. 172*b*. 2.5×1.7 in. The pear-tree.
- 324. Fol. 173*a*. 2.5×1.7 in. The almond-tree.
- 325. Fol. 173*b*. 2.9×1.6 in. The lemon-tree.
- 326. Fol. 175*a*. 2.2×1.6 in. The banana-tree.
- 327. Fol. 175*b*. 2.9×1.7 in. The orange-tree.
- 328. Fol. 176*a*. 2.7×1.4 in. The date-palm.
- 329. Fol. 177*b*. 2.5×1.5 in. The rose-tree.
- 330. Fol. 178*a*. 2.5×1.5 in. The jasmine-plant.
- 331. Fol. 179*b*. 1.8×1.2 in. The anemone.
- 332. Fol. 182*a*. 1.8×1.5 in. Water-melons.
- 333. Fol. 184*b*. 1.8×1.4 in. Carrots.
- 334. Fol. 187*b*. 1.8×1.5 in. Lettuces.
- 335. Ibid. 1.1×1.8 in. Poppies.
- 336. Fol. 188*a*. 2.2×1.8 in. Marshmallow.
- 337. Fol. 188*b*. 2.2×1.9 in. Gilliflower (*khiri*).
- 338. Fol. 189*b*. 1.7×1.8 in. Sorrel.
- 339. Ibid. 1.8×1.8 in. Sweet basil.
- 340. Fol. 190*a*. 1.7×1.6 in. Saffron.
- 341. Fol. 191*b*. 1.8×1.5 in. Iris.
- 342. Fol. 193*a*. 2.2×1.7 in. Radishes.
- 343. Fol. 195*b*. 2.1×1.8 in. The text on this page deals with *gunābarā* (*Lepidium Draba* L.), hemp and cauliflower, but the drawing bears no resemblance to any of these plants, and looks more like a currant-bush.
- 344. Fol. 196*b*. 2.4×1.7 in. Cotton-plants.
- 345. Fol. 200*b*. 2.1×2.1 in. Narcissus.
- 346. Fol. 202*b*. 2.5×2 in. Pumpkin.
- 347. Fol. 238*a*. 3.2×2.4 in. Weaver at work.
- 348. Fol. 239*b*. 3.3×2.3 in. The stone pillar in the western city of brass, built by Dhū'l-qarnayn (Alexander the Great).
- 349. Fol. 240*a*. 2.6×2.1 in. The Pharos of Alexandria.

350. Fol. 240*b*. 3×2.3 in. A golden equestrian statue on a green dome.
351. Fol. 241*b*. 2.9×2.4 in. Automata. Man in a boat.
352. Fol. 242*a*. 2.3×2.4 in. A water-driven vehicle.
353. Ibid. 2.8×2.2 in. Equestrian statue on a yellow dome.
354. Fol. 243*a*. 3.5×3 in. Model of a king enthroned with a man before him. The faces have been damaged.
355. Fol. 243*b*. 3.2×3 in. A comic mechanical figure.
356. Fol. 244*b*. 2.8×3 in. A musical-box. (Foll. 251*a*, 251*b*, 252*a*, 252*b*, and 253*a*: circular diagrams in red ink.)
357. Fol. 262*b*. 3.2×2.5 in. Man holding an astrolabe.
358. Fol. 266*b*. 2.8×2.8 in. Talismans. Corpse in a metal horse (the Ring of Gyges).
359. Fol. 267*a*. 2.5×2 in. The fish carrying the Ring of Polycrates.
360. Fol. 267*b*. 2.5×1.6 in. Naked figure in silver. Smudged.
361. Fol. 268*a*. 2.9×2.3 in. Talismans of Saturn. A man holding a fish and standing on a lizard.
362. Fol. 268*b*. 2.8×2.5 in. Talismans of Mars. A man and a woman, the latter's face obliterated.
363. Fol. 269*a*. 2.8×2.3 in. An angel with a red cock's comb holding a bottle: in front, a small yellow cock.
364. Fol. 269*b*. 3.3×2.3 in. Figure representing the Moon: a haloed personage driving two oxen.
365. Fol. 270*b*. 3.2×2.5 in. Love-charms. A parrot.
366. Fol. 271*a*. 1.8×1.2 in. Charms for engaging the affections. A padlock.
367. Fol. 277*b*. 3.5×3 in. A ghoul.
368. Fol. 278*a*. 3.5×3 in. A female goblin.
369. Fol. 278*b*. 3.5×3 in. The obscene goblin al-Gharār of Yemen.
370. Fol. 279*a*. 3.5×3 in. Strong man riding on a large bird.
371. Fol. 279*b*. 6×3 in. The split man.
372. Ibid. 6×3 in. The 'golden man' with leonine head.
373. Fol. 280*b*. 3.5×3 in. A jinn.

374. Fol. 281*a*. 3.1 × 3 in. Black jinn riding a purple horse.
375. Fol. 281*b*. 3.2 × 3 in. A jinn like a bear with a long tail.
376. Fol. 282*a*. 3 × 3 in. A jinn like a dog with curled horns.
377. Fol. 282*b*. 2.5 × 3 in. A beast-faced jinn playing a lute.
378. Ibid. 2.5 × 3 in. A beast-faced jinn kneeling.
379. Fol. 283*a*. 2.5 × 3 in. A black bear-headed jinn with four legs and another bear's head issuing from its posterior.
380. Ibid. 2.5 × 3 in. A camel-headed jinn.
381. Fol. 283*b*. 3 × 3 in. A bird-headed jinn.
382. Fol. 284*a*. 3.3 × 3 in. A large black jinn running.
383. Fol. 287*b*. 2.5 × 3 in. Animals. The Horse.
384. Fol. 288*b*. 2.5 × 3 in. The Mule.
385. Fol. 289*a*. 2.5 × 3 in. The Donkey.
386. Fol. 290*a*. 2.4 × 3 in. The Snail (*halzûn*), pictured as an animal with a bear's head, terminating in a spiral.
387. Fol. 290*b*. 2.2 × 1.6 in. The Snake.
388. Fol. 291*b*. 1.8 × 1.7 in. Earth-worms.
389. Ibid. 1.9 × 1.7 in. Beetles.
390. Fol. 292*a*. 1.7 × 1.7 in. Scarab-beetle rolling a ball of dung with its hind legs.
391. Fol. 292*b*. 1.8 × 1.4 in. Silkworms.
392. Fol. 293*a*. 1.7 × 1.6 in. Bees.
393. Fol. 293*b*. 1.5 × 1.2 in. Cantharides (*dharrûh*).
394. Fol. 294*a*. 1.7 × 1.5 in. Tarantulas (*rutailâ*).
395. Ibid. 1.9 × 1.4 in. Wasps.
396. Fol. 294*b*. 1.8 × 2.1 in. A Gecko-lizard (*şâm abraş*).
397. Ibid. 1.5 × 1.9 in. A tortoise.
398. Fol. 295*a*. 2.4 × 2.6 in. The *Şannāja*, a mythical monster of Tibet, pictured as a sort of lion with a horse's tail.
399. Fol. 295*b*. 1.9 × 1.4 in. *Şarşar* ('crickets'), represented as a sort of dog.

400. Fol. 295*b*. 1·8 × 1·9 in. An edible Arabian lizard, called *Dabb*.
401. Fol. 296*b*. 1·5 × 1·7 in. The Polecat.
402. Ibid. 2·2 × 2 in. The Ibex (*buz-i kūhī*).
403. Fol. 298*a*. 2·2 × 2 in. The Jackal.
404. Ibid. 1·8 × 2 in. The Weasel.
405. Fol. 298*b*. 1·8 × 1·9 in. The Hare.
406. Fol. 299*a*. 2·5 × 2·2 in. The Lion.
407. Fol. 300*b*. 2·1 × 2·2 in. The Tiger.
408. Fol. 301*a*. 1·8 × 2 in. The Fox.
409. Fol. 301*b*. 1·9 × 2 in. The Rhinoceros (represented as a Unicorn).
410. Ibid. 2·1 × 2·3 in. The Boar.
411. Fol. 302*b*. 1·8 × 2·2 in. The Bear.
412. Fol. 303*a*. 1·7 × 2·2 in. The Hay-weasel (*dalaq*).
413. Fol. 303*b*. 2·1 × 2·3 in. The Wolf.
414. Fol. 304*b*. 1·8 × 2·3 in. The Elephant.
415. Fol. 305*a*. 1·5 × 1·9 in. The Grey Squirrel.
416. Fol. 305*b*. 1·8 × 2·1 in. The Wildcat.
417. Fol. 306*a*. 1·8 × 2·3 in. The Syrinx.
418. Fol. 306*b*. 2·1 × 2·3 in. The Unicorn.
419. Ibid. 2·1 × 2·3 in. The Hyena.
420. Fol. 307*b*. 1·8 × 2·2 in. The Lynx.
421. Ibid. 1·9 × 2·2 in. A running animal with a long nose (name not filled in).
422. Fol. 309*a*. 2·1 × 2·1 in. The Monkey.
423. Fol. 309*b*. 2·1 × 3 in. The Rhinoceros (again represented as a Unicorn).
424. Fol. 310*b*. 1·8 × 2 in. The Dog.
425. Fol. 312*a*. 2·3 × 3 in. The Leopard.
426. Fol. 313*b*. 1·8 × 2·1 in. The Chaffinch (*birqish*).
427. Ibid. 1·8 × 2·1 in. The Nightingale.

428. Ibid. 1.4×2.1 in. The Duck.
429. Fol. 314a. 1.5×2 in. The Falcon.
430. Fol. 315a. 1.5×2 in. The Sparrow-hawk.
431. Ibid. 1.4×2 in. The Green Parrot (name not filled in).
432. Fol. 315b. 1.7×2.1 in. The Bulbul.
433. Fol. 316a. 1.7×1.8 in. The Owl.
434. Fol. 316b. 1.8×1.9 in. The Partridge (*tudruj*).
435. Fol. 317a. 1.8×1.6 in. The *Tunawwiſ* (Weaver-bird?).
436. Ibid. 1.4×1.6 in. A bird called 'viper's nurse' (*dāya i af'ā*).
437. Fol. 317b. 1.8×1.8 in. The Bustard.
438. Ibid. 1.5×1.9 in. The Kite (*zaghan*).
439. Fol. 318a. 1.8×1.7 in. The Dove.
440. Fol. 319a. 1.8×1.8 in. The Swallow.
441. Fol. 319b. 1.5×1.8 in. The Bat (represented as a bird).
442. Fol. 320b. 1.8×2.1 in. The Francolin.
443. Ibid. 1.8×2.1 in. The Cock.
444. Fol. 322a. 1.5×1.7 in. The Hen.
445. Fol. 322b. 1.7×2.1 in. The Vulture.
446. Fol. 323a. 1.8×1.9 in. The Crow.
447. Fol. 323b. 1.5×1.9 in. The Starling.
448. Fol. 324a. 1.8×2 in. The Quail.
449. Ibid. 1.8×1.9 in. The Hunting-falcon.
450. Fol. 324b. 1.8×2.2 in. The Pigeon.
451. Fol. 325a. 1.5×1.7 in. The Turtle-dove (*shafnān*).
452. Ibid. 1.5×1.7 in. The Green Woodpecker (*shaqrāq*).
453. Ibid. 1.4×1.7 in. The *Šāfir*, a bird which sings at night.
454. Fol. 325b. 1.7×1.9 in. The Hawk.
455. Ibid. 1.8×2 in. The Peacock.
456. Fol. 326b. 1.5×1.9 in. The Sparrow.
457. Fol. 327a. 1.5×2.2 in. The Partridge.

458. Fol. 327*b*. 1·8 × 2·2 in. The Eagle.
459. Fol. 328*a*. 1·8 × 2·1 in. The Magpie.
460. Fol. 328*b*. 2·4 × 2·4 in. The Phoenix (*'Anqā* or *Simurgh*).
461. Fol. 329*a*. 2·1 × 2·2 in. The Raven.
462. Fol. 330*a*. 1·8 × 2 in. The Crane.
463. Ibid. 1·8 × 2 in. The *Ghawwāṣ*, a sort of Diver.
464. Fol. 330*b*. 1·8 × 2 in. The Ring-dove (*fākhita*).
465. Fol. 331*a*. 1·8 × 1·8 in. The Partridge (*qabaj* or *kabg*).
466. Fol. 331*b*. 1·7 × 1·9 in. The Lark (*qubbara*).
467. Ibid. 1·8 × 1·9 in. The Sand-grouse.
468. Fol. 332*a*. 1·9 × 1·8 in. Another sort of Turtle-dove (*qumrī*).
469. Ibid. 1·7 × 2·2 in. The Pheasant.
470. Fol. 332*b*. 1·8 × 1·8 in. The Crane.
471. Ibid. 1·4 × 1·9 in. The *Karwān*, a sort of Partridge.
472. Fol. 333*a*. 1·6 × 1·8 in. The Stork.
473. Ibid. 1·7 × 1·8 in. The Heron (*mālik al-ḥazin* or *būtimār*).
474. Fol. 333*b*. 1·7 × 1·9 in. The Macaw.
475. Ibid. 1·5 × 1·9 in. The Vulture (*nasr*).
476. Fol. 334*a*. 1·8 × 2·2 in. The Ostrich (the representation bears no resemblance).
477. Ibid. 1·7 × 2·1 in. The Hoopoe.
478. Fol. 335*a*. 1·7 × 2 in. The Mountain-swallow (*waṭwāt*).
479. Fol. 336*a*. 1·5 × 1·7 in. White Ants.
480. Ibid. 1·8 × 2 in. The Viper.
481. Fol. 337*a*. 1·4 × 1·7 in. Fleas.
482. Fol. 337*b*. 1·2 × 1·6 in. Gnats.
483. Fol. 338*a*. 2·1 × 2·1 in. The Cockatrice.
484. Fol. 338*b*. 1·5 × 1·8 in. The Locust.
485. Fol. 339*a*. 1·6 × 2 in. The Jerboa.
486. Fol. 339*b*. 2·3 × 3 in. The Camel.

487. Fol. 340*b*. 2×3 in. The Humped Bull.
 488. Fol. 341*b*. 1.8×2.2 in. The Stag.
 489. Fol. 342*a*. 2.4×3 in. The Buffalo.
 490. Fol. 342*b*. 2.1×3 in. The Giraffe.
 491. Fol. 343*a*. 2.1×2.1 in. The Fat-tailed Sheep.
 492. Fol. 344*a*. 1.8×2.2 in. The Goat (coloured blue).
 493. Fol. 344*b*. 2.1×2.2 in. The Gazelle.
 494. Fol. 345*b*. 2×2.4 in. The Ibex.
 495. Ibid. 1.8×1.4 in. A reptile (name not filled in), said to resemble the lizard called *sūsmār*.
 496. Fol. 346*a*. 1.5×2.2 in. The Scorpion.
 497. Fol. 346*b*. 1.8×1.8 in. The Spider.

SHĀHĪ, SA'DĪ, &c.: *GHAZALS*

MS. Elliot 329 (Ethé 697, 870, 871, 879, 884, 886, 889). Foll. 138. 9.3×5.5 in. European red leather binding. Illuminated headings of simple but well-executed design on foll. 1*b* (Kātibī), 22*b* (Shāhī), 45*b* (Khayālī), 66*b* (Mas'ūd), 84*b* (Saifī), 101*b* (Ādhurī), and 124*b* (Sa'dī—rather more elaborate than the others).

The manuscript contains 3 miniature paintings in the Turkman style, but in the first two the faces have been spoilt by over-painting in India. Particulars are as follows:

498. Fol. 26*a*. 4.9×3 in. A prince enthroned out of doors under a canopy listening to the music of a pipe and tambourine whilst an attendant offers him a cup of wine. All the faces repainted.
 499. Fol. 80*a*. 4.8×3 in. Two mounted men hunting mountain-sheep watched by three others on the horizon, one of whom has a falcon. Faces repainted.
 500. Fol. 120*a*. 4.4×3 in. A young prince with attendants drinking and entertained by a harpist and tambourine-player. This miniature is in its original state.

'AṬṬĀR: *MANTIQ AL-TAYR*

MS. Elliot 246 (Ethé 628). Foll. 172. 10.3×6 in. Modern binding covered in red plush. Dated 898/1493. Copyist, Na'im al-Dīn. Foll. 1*b* and 2*a* are beautifully illuminated in the usual manner of Turkman-style manuscripts.

It may be noted that another manuscript of the same poem, with nine Turkman-style miniatures, and dated 'at Shiraz' in the following year (899/1494) is in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow (MS. Czart. 3885: see below, *Manuscripts for Comparison*). It would appear to be very similar to the present manuscript in all respects.

Particulars of the 7 miniatures are as follows:

501. Fol. 25*b*. 4.1 × 2.9 in. The concourse of birds presided over by the Simurgh. *Plate VI*.
502. Fol. 45*a*. 5 × 2.9 in. The Shaykh of San'ān, with eight followers, beneath the window at which appears the Christian maiden with whom he is infatuated.
503. Fol. 52*b*. 4.5 × 2.9 in. The Shaykh of San'ān tending swine, observed by six astonished spectators. *Plate VI*.
504. Fol. 63*a*. 4.5 × 3 in. The King and the thorn-gatherer. The former is shown tying up a bundle of thorns before the latter, who has his donkey with him. The miniature originally projected into the left-hand margin, but this portion has been lost owing to careless remargination of the manuscript.
505. Fol. 96*a*. 4.5 × 2.9 in. Yūsuf sold as a slave. He is represented with a halo, standing on a golden stool.
506. Fol. 124*b*. 4.6 × 3.8 in. Majnūn disguised as a sheep being led with the rest of the flock by a shepherd before the tent of Laylā. The part of the miniature which projects into the right-hand margin has become slightly blackened. (Cf. *Robinson MMA*, fig. 13.)
507. Fol. 150*b*. 4.6 × 2.9 in. A young king and attendants approaching a man who lies on the ground under a gallows. The ground is somewhat discoloured.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 18)]

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Elliot 325 (Ethé 493). Foll. 627. Heavy Persian binding of pale green leather with sunk medallions and a modern European back. Dated 899/1494. Copyist, Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Sulṭān 'Alī b. Aslānshāh *al-kātib*. The illuminations consist of two medallions on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, a double title-page (foll. 3*b* and 4*a*), and headings on fol. 9*b*, the beginning of the poem proper, and fol. 305*b*, for the reign of Luhrāsp.

The manuscript contains 55 miniature paintings (one double-page),

all except one (No. 516) in the Turkman style. They are in general of a good standard of execution, but show some slight falling-off both in drawing and colour towards the end of the volume. In a number of cases faces have been clumsily repainted in India in comparatively modern times. Particulars are as follows:

- 508*a, b*. Foll. 2*b*, 3*a*. Each half 8.3×5 in., within an illuminated border. An outdoor court scene. The ground is green, covered with luxuriant vegetation and studded with flowers, with a plane-tree and flowering prunus; a small stream crosses both halves of the miniature diagonally. A prince enthroned under a canopy by a tent, with three tributary princes before him, attended by cup-bearers and others, and entertained by musicians and a dancing-girl (fol. 2*b*). Also in attendance are falconers, grooms with led horses, and servants (two of them negroes) bringing on a meal under the supervision of the major-domo (fol. 3*a*). The whole miniature has suffered somewhat from damp.
509. Fol. 7*a*. 5.6×4.9 in. The presentation to Bāysunghur Mīrzā of the completed manuscript of his recension of the *Shāhnāma*. *Arnold PI*, pl. vi.
510. Fol. 12*b*. 5.6×4.9 in. Gayūmarth and his court. *Plate VII*.
511. Fol. 17*a*. 5.6×5 in. Jamshīd sawn asunder before Ḍaḥḥāk. The faces of Ḍaḥḥāk and of another figure, who kneels on one knee and makes to draw his sword, have been repainted.
512. Fol. 23*b*. 5.6×5 in. Ḍaḥḥāk is struck down in his palace by the mace of Farīdūn. Ḍaḥḥāk's face is damaged.
513. Fol. 30*b*. 6×5 in. The murder of Irāj by his brothers Tūr and Salm. Four of the faces, including that of Tūr (who is stabbing Irāj), have been repainted. Cf. *Blochét MP*, pl. LXIII, from a similar *Shāhnāma* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Sup. pers. 1280)—an almost identical treatment of the same subject—and *Ars Or.* I, p. 106, fig. 15, for an earlier use of the same central group to illustrate the killing of Shīda by Kay Khusraw.
514. Fol. 38*a*. 5.4×5 in. Salm defeated and slain by Minūchihr.
515. Fol. 47*b*. 6×5 in. Zāl wooing Rudāba. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 66*b*.
516. Fol. 60*a*. 7.1×4.9 in. Judging from a little colour which has come off on fol. 61*a*, the original miniature, representing the birth of Rustam, was on fol. 60*b*. Apparently it was considered offensive

(by Sir Gore Ouseley?) and the whole folio was removed. The present replacement, which bears a watermark of 1818, carries an illustration of the same subject made up of cut-out portions of several Mughal miniatures, the background being filled in with water colour on the new folio.

517. Fol. 79a. 5.6×4.9 in. Rustam lifting Afrāsiyāb from his horse by the girdle. The hero wears his tiger-skin coat, but an ordinary helmet. *VAM Neg.*, K. 656. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 48a (*Bloch E*, pl. xxxi).
518. Fol. 86a. 6×4.9 in. Rustam asleep whilst his horse Rakhsh kills the marauding lion. *VAM Neg.*, K. 650; *Ars Or.* 1, p. 106, fig. 4. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 90b, by an artist who does not completely conform to the style (*Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLVIII). This miniature is one of the simple prototypes of the magnificent and well-known version of the same subject now in the British Museum (1948-12-11-023: reproduced by Martin, Schulz, Kühnel, and, in colour, *Gray PPI*, 7). For an earlier comparable version (1445) in the Shīrāz style see *BWG*, pl. LVI B.
519. Fol. 90a. 5.5×4.9 in. Rustam killing the White Demon, with Awlād tied to a tree. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 94b and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280 fol. 56b. *Robinson PM*, pl. 13.
520. Fol. 99b. 7×5 in. Kay Kāūs' flying machine. All the faces have been repainted. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 18a.
521. Fol. 106a. 5.5×4.9 in. Suhrāb snatching off the helmet of Gurdafarīd. She wears a mail cuirass, an unusual feature in this style.
522. Fol. 115b. 5.5×5 in. Rustam distraught at recognizing his son Suhrāb, whom he has mortally wounded. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 79b (*Bloch MP*, pl. LXIV) and, for an earlier version in the same style, British Museum Or. 4384, fol. 51b (*Ars Or.* 1, p. 106, fig. 5). In the treatment of the incident in British Museum Add. 18188 (fol. 30a) Rustam is shown actually stabbing Suhrāb.
523. Fol. 124b. 5.8×4.9 in. The fire ordeal of Siyāwush. Over the doorway is written 'al-Sulṭān al-'ādil Abū'l-faṭḥ' which may perhaps be intended for Abū'l-faṭḥ Khalīl Bahādur Khān b. Sulṭān Abū'l-naṣr, a 'White Sheep' Turkman prince of the late fifteenth century, unless it is a reminiscence of the Timurid prince of Shiraz, Abū'l-faṭḥ Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāh Rukh (d. 1435). The

treatment of the same subject in British Museum Add. 18188 (fol. 37*b*) is by an artist who does not fully conform to the style, but who has contributed several miniatures to that manuscript.

524. Fol. 146*b*. 5.5 × 4.9 in. The murder of Siyāwush. Almost all the faces have been retouched. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 103*b* and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 107*a*.
525. Fol. 160*b*. 5.5 × 5 in. Kay Khusraw, his mother Firangīs, and Gīw crossing the Jihūn in their escape from Afrāsiyāb. Slightly smudged.
526. Fol. 180*a*. 6 × 5 in. The Persians under Farīburz defeated by the Turanians.
527. Fol. 198*b*. 5.7 × 4.9 in. Rustam shooting Ashkabūs and his horse. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 150*b* and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 156*b* (*Blochét E*, pl. xxxii).
528. Fol. 208*b*. 5.5 × 4.9 in. Rustam lassoing the Khāqān of Chīn. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 160*a* and Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. pers. 1280, fol. 167*a* (*Blochét E*, pl. xxxii).
529. Fol. 218*a*. 5.6 × 5 in. Rustam carried by the Demon Akwān. The latter and an attendant demon on the horizon have been crudely repainted. Rustam's mace is unfinished, and the usual touches of white have not been added to the stripes of his tiger-skin coat. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 169*b*. The illustration to this episode in the Paris manuscript (fol. 176*b*) shows the hero, after being thrown in the sea by the demon, killing a monstrous fish which attacks him, as in No. 119 above.
530. Fol. 224*b*. 5.9 × 5 in. The captive Bizhan brought before Afrāsiyāb.
531. Fol. 234*b*. 5.8 × 5 in. Bizhan rescued from the pit by Rustam. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 183*a* and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 190*a* (*Blochét MP*, pl. lxxv).
532. Fol. 260*b*. 5.5 × 5 in. Pīrān slain by Gūdarz. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 215*b* (*Blochét MP*, pl. lxxvi).
533. Fol. 274*b*. 5.5 × 5 in. Shīda, son of Afrāsiyāb, killed by Kay Khusraw. The face of the latter has been repainted. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 219*a* and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 229*b*.

534. Fol. 290a. 5.5×5 in. Kay Khusraw crossing the sea on his way to Gang-dizh. The faces, especially that of Kay Khusraw, have been retouched. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 232b (*Survey*, v. 883A), and Freer Gallery, Washington, 160.52 (Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xxxii).
535. Fol. 294b. 5.6×5 in. Afrāsiyāb and Garsīwaz executed by Kay Khusraw. The face of the latter has been repainted. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 248b.
536. Fol. 312a. 5.8×5 in. Gushtāsp killing the dragon. The artist has evidently confused this incident with the killing of a dragon by Isfandiyār a little later in the poem, having represented Gushtāsp riding in a sort of armoured car drawn by two horses. The artist of British Museum Add. 18188 (fol. 256b: British Museum *coloured postcard*) follows Firdawsī in showing Gushtāsp, mounted, cleaving the dragon's head with his sword.
537. Fol. 328a. 5.5×5 in. Isfandiyār, in bonds and mounted on an elephant, interviewed by his father Gushtāsp, before being imprisoned in the castle of Gumbadan. This miniature seems to be by a different and somewhat inferior artist; amongst other things, his figures are much squatter than those in the previous miniatures.
538. Fol. 337b. 6.6×5 in. Isfandiyār, with his 'armoured car', killing the Sīmurgh—the fifth of his seven stages on the way to the Brazen Hold.
539. Fol. 348a. 5.9×5 in. Rustam, cooking a wild ass (which he has not even skinned) on his way to fight Isfandiyār, kicks back a rock cast down on him by the latter's son Bahman. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 281a.
540. Fol. 360b. 5.9×5 in. Rustam shooting Isfandiyār in the eyes with the magic forked arrow. The faces of Rustam and a trumpeter on the horizon have been crudely repainted. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 292b and Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 312a.
541. Fol. 366b. 5.5×5 in. Rustam, dying in the pit of spears, shoots his treacherous brother Shaghād behind the tree. Both figures have been retouched. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 298a.
542. Fol. 379a. 5.8×5 in. Iskandar supporting the dying Dārā whose captured murderers are led before him. Probably the same artist as No. 537. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 309b.

543. Fol. 388a. 5.5 × 5 in. Iskandar at the Ka'ba.
544. Fol. 396b. 5.5 × 5 in. Iskandar finding Elias and Khiḍr at the Well of Life.
545. Fol. 411b. 6 × 5 in. Ardashīr 'feeding' the Worm of Kerman with molten metal: apparently by the same artist at No. 537. *Plate VII*.
546. Fol. 428b. 5.5 × 6 in. Captive Caesar mutilated by Shāpūr. The face of the executioner has been repainted.
547. Fol. 434b. 5.8 × 5 in. Bahrām Gūr, after his master-shots, riding his camel over the Roman slave-girl Āzāda: Bahrām's face has been repainted, and Āzāda's dress is somewhat smudged. The illustration of the episode in British Museum Add. 18188 (fol. 353a) has often been reproduced (*Bloch MP*, pl. xcvi; *Arnold S*, pl. 10, &c.) and shows them both riding on the same camel. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 386a.
548. Fol. 446b. 5.5 × 5 in. Bahrām Gūr finding the treasures of Jamshīd.
549. Fol. 463b. 5.5 × 5 in. Bahrām Gūr killing the monster rhinoceros at the behest of Shangul King of Hind. The beast is represented like a unicorn.
550. Fol. 471b. 5.8 × 5 in. Discomfiture and death of Pīrūz and the Persian army in the great ditch dug by Khūshnawāz King of the Hephthalites.
551. Fol. 497a. 5.5 × 5 in. Execution of Zurān and the Jew before Nūshīrwān. The faces of Nūshīrwān and one of his attendants have been repainted.
552. Fol. 503a. 5.5 × 5 in. Nūshīrwān introduced to the daughter of the Khāqān.
553. Fol. 515a. 5.9 × 5 in. The battle of Gaw and Talhand. The army of the latter, who has collapsed on his elephant, are all black men. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 403b.
554. Fol. 525b. 5.8 × 5 in. Defeat of the Romans by Nūshīrwān. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 418b.
555. Fol. 540a. 5.9 × 5 in. Sāwa Shāh killed by Bahrām Chūbīna. The face of one of the Turks has been repainted. Cf. British Museum Add. 18188, fol. 439b.
556. Fol. 560a. 5.5 × 5 in. Execution of Bandwī by Khusraw Parwīz.
557. Fol. 575b. 5.5 × 5 in. Khusraw Parwīz meeting the Hermit on the way to Rūm.

558. Fol. 582a. 5.9×5 in. Bahrām Chūbīna killing the Lion-Ape.
559. Fol. 599a. 6.2×5 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn listening to Bārbad the minstrel playing in the cypress-tree.
560. Fol. 606a. 5.5×5 in. Khusraw receiving the messengers of his son Shīrwī.
561. Fol. 612a. 5.9×5 in. Suicide of Shīrīn on the corpse of Khusraw Parwīz.
562. Fol. 626a. 5.6×5 in. Execution of Mahwī by Bizhan the Turk. Almost all the faces have been retouched. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale Sup. pers. 1280, fol. 540b.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 19)]

SHĀHĪ: DĪWĀN

MS. Selden superius 98 (Ethé 878). Foll. 87. 6.8×3.6 in. The binding of dark red leather with gold medallions, and cut-out work of black on blue on the doublures, is probably original. Foll. 2b and 3a are finely illuminated as a double title-page.

563a, b. A double-page frontispiece of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba occupies foll. 1b and 2a. It is a crowded composition in the Turkman style, with angels, demons, animals, and birds of all kinds including two dragons, a Simurgh, and other fabulous creatures, and human figures. Several details such as the form of feminine head-dress, the heavy turban-plume, and the use of leopards' tails as tassels under horses' chins (cf. the Upsala Āṣafī manuscript of 1502-4), as well as the appearance of golden scrolls of cloudlike form in the illuminations, indicate a date about 1500-5.

The miniature, each half of which measures 4.5×2.1 in., is enclosed in an illuminated border.

NIẒĀMĪ: KHAMSA

MS. Elliot 192 (Ethé 587). Foll. 346. Modern European binding of red leather. Dated 907/1501. Copyist, Na'im al-Dīn *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. There is a double illuminated title-page (foll. 2b, 3a) and illuminated headings to the *Khusraw u Shīrīn* (fol. 32b), *Laylā wa Majnūn* (fol. 101b), *Haft Paikar* (fol. 158b), *Sharaf Nāma* (fol. 221b), and *Iqbāl Nāma Iskandari* (fol. 300b).

The manuscript contains 42 miniature paintings (including two double-

page), all good typical examples of the Turkman style and for the most part in excellent condition. Particulars are as follows:

- 564a, b. Fol. 1b, 2a. Each half 7.5×3.6 in. within an illuminated border. An outdoor court scene very similar to that in Elliot 325 (No. 508). A prince enthroned under a canopy receiving a cup of wine from an attendant, with three dignitaries seated before him, one on a separate mat, and courtiers, musicians, and a dancing-girl in attendance (fol. 1b). There are also two huntsmen with a cheetah, two falconers, a groom with a led horse, and other courtiers, and musicians, while the major-domo beats back three intruders, and servants bring on a meal. Two of the figures have had black beards added later (fol. 2a).
565. Fol. 17a. 5.3×3.7 in. The old woman petitioning Sultān Sanjar.
566. Fol. 22b. 4×3.8 in. Jesus and the dead dog. (*Arnold PI*, pl. xxviii, in colour.)
567. Fol. 43b. 4.7×3.7 in. Shīrīn shown the portrait of Khusraw by one of her maids, whilst another offers her a cup of wine and others play on the tambourine, harp, and pipe.
568. Fol. 55a. 4.7×3.7 in. Khusraw in night-attire killing a lion with his fist before the tent of Shīrīn.
569. Fol. 60a. 5×3.7 in. Khusraw mounted on an elephant leading his army against Bahrām Chūbīna, attended by the sage with the astrolabe.
570. Fol. 63b. 4×3.9 in. Khusraw enthroned receiving news of Bahrām Chūbīna.
571. Fol. 68b. 5×4.5 in. Farhād coming before Shīrīn.
572. Fol. 73b. 5×3.7 in. Shīrīn visiting Farhād's milk conduit at Mount Behistūn. The panel of sculpture is represented in two sections; above, a prince and princess seated; below, a mounted warrior, presumably inspired by the figure of Khusraw in the grotto at Tāq i Būstān.
573. Fol. 81a. 5.3×3.8 in. Khusraw mounted with two of his followers on foot approaching the castle of Shīrīn with posies of flowers in their hands; she observes them from an upper window and one of her maids is peeping from behind the cupola which surmounts the building.

574. Fol. 92b. 4.5×3.8 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn consummating their marriage. The face of one of the maids at the window has been retouched.
575. Fol. 97b. 4.9×3.7 in. Suicide of Shīrīn on the coffin of Khusraw.
576. Fol. 111b. 4.7×3.7 in. Qays (Majnūn) and Laylā falling in love whilst at school. One of the other pupils is having his ear tweaked by a schoolfellow.
577. Fol. 115b. 5×4.3 in. Majnūn at the Ka'ba. *BWG*, pl. xcvi A.
578. Fol. 119b. 4.7×3.7 in. Majnūn meeting Laylā in the palm-grove. *Robinson PM*, pl. 14.
579. Fol. 123b. 4.7×4.3 in. The battle of the clans. *Gray PP*, pl. 8. Arabs, including the Prophet Muḥammad, are almost always represented in Persian miniatures with their turbans looped under the chin.
580. Fol. 127a. 4.3×3.7 in. Majnūn brought to Laylā's tent by the old woman. Cf. the slightly earlier version of this subject in the same style formerly in the Anet Collection and now in the British Museum (*BWG*, pl. LI B). It has been dated 'about 1430', but the Turkman style had not evolved at that date, and there seems no reason why it should be earlier than about 1480-90.
581. Fol. 134a. 4.3×3.7 in. Majnūn in the desert among the animals, feeding a deer with a handful of grass. This miniature is not in such good condition as most of the others.
582. Fol. 142b. 3.8×3.7 in. The abortive meeting of Laylā and Majnūn (accompanied by six animals) in the palm-grove, contrived by the hermit. This miniature is somewhat rubbed and blackened.
583. Fol. 150a. 4×3.8 in. Laylā and Majnūn fainting at their final meeting, while a lion which had accompanied the latter leaps on an unfortunate bystander.
584. Fol. 169a. 4.3×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr transfixing with a single arrow a lion and a wild ass upon which it has leaped.
585. Fol. 174b. 4.6×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr enthroned after winning the crown by ordeal from between two lions. He is represented clad in white, which is apparently proper to one undergoing an ordeal; in the *Shāhnāma* Firdawsī arrays Siyāwush in 'golden helmet and raiment all of white' when he undergoes his ordeal by fire, and he is so depicted in the majority of illustrations of this subject.

586. Fol. 178*b*. 5×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr's discarded mistress demonstrating the proposition 'that practice makes perfect' by carrying a cow upstairs to him on her shoulders.
587. Fol. 183*b*. 4×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Indian Princess in the Black Pavilion of Saturn.
588. Fol. 190*a*. 3.6×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Moorish Princess in the Yellow Pavilion of the Sun.
589. Fol. 193*a*. 3.5×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Tartar Princess in the Green Pavilion of the Moon.
590. Fol. 196*b*. 4.6×3.8 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Russian Princess in the Red Pavilion of Mars.
591. Fol. 200*b*. 4.6×3.8 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess of Khwārazm in the Blue Pavilion of Mercury. In its present state the prevailing colour is grey-green.
592. Fol. 206*a*. 4×3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Chinese Princess in the Sandal-wood Pavilion of Jupiter.
593. Fol. 210*b*. 3.8×3.8 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Greek Princess in the White Pavilion of Venus.
594. Fol. 236*a*. 4.6×4.7 in. The army of the Zangī defeated by Iskandar.
595. Fol. 242*a*. 4.7×3.7 in. Iskandar in disguise at the court of Dārā.
596. Fol. 251*a*. 5×3.7 in. Iskandar supporting the dying Dārā, whose murderers are led captive before him. The central tree with its young shoots at either side is worth remarking as a late and debased survival of a favourite early Timurid convention. Iskandar's face is slightly damaged.
597. Fol. 258*a*. 5.2×3.7 in. Iskandar at the court of Queen Nūshāba. The paint has flaked from almost all the faces in this miniature.
598. Fol. 264*a*. 4.7×3.7 in. Iskandar visiting the Hermit. Here also the paint has flaked somewhat from the faces.
599. Fol. 279*a*. 5.4×4.6 in. Iskandar entertaining the Khāqān of Chīn. *Plate V*.
600. Fol. 291*a*. 5×3.8 in. Iskandar lassoing the Russian champion.
601. Fol. 297*b*. 5.8×3.8 in. Iskandar giving an entertainment with musicians.
602. Fol. 307*b*. 5.1×3.8 in. Iskandar conversing with a shepherd from a tower.

603. Fol. 319a. 4.9×3.7 in. Iskandar and the Seven Sages in learned discussion.
604. Fol. 333a. 4.7×3.7 in. Iskandar watching the Sirens bathing. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxvii B; *Pallès*, fig. 22.
- 605a, b. Foll. 345b, 346a. Each half 8×3.7 in., within an illuminated border. A crowded hunting-scene, the whole miniature badly blackened. The Prince, clean-shaven, appears on the horizon with his sword-bearer, while his huntsmen pursue various game in various ways, one releasing a trained cheetah, and another spearing a leopard; in the foreground is a hound chasing a deer (fol. 345b). The scene continues with a falconer and others on the horizon, whilst in the hunting-field a lion and a wolf attack two of the huntsmen, another shoots a wolf in the shoulder, and another catches an antelope round the neck with his bow (fol. 346a).

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London*, 1931, no. 544 A)
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 21)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- c. 1430. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Or. 4384. 9 miniatures. Text written in six columns. *Ars Or.* 1, p. 106, fig. 5. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1029.
- 849/1446. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Princeton University Library, *Hitti*, 7. Copied 'at Abarquh' by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tustarī. 9 miniatures. *Hôtel Drouot* (Sambon Collection), 25-28 May 1914, Lot 188.
- 854/1450. IBN ḤUSĀM: *Khāwar Nāma*. (Formerly) Persia; private collection. Detached miniatures, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, and American collections. 155 miniatures, some signed Farhād and dated 881/1477. *MMA Bull.*, Nov. 1955, p. 91.
- 867/1463. *Three Romances*. London, British Museum, Or. 8755. 18 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1460-70. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 332 (*Dorn*, p. 318). 13 miniatures. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pls. 10-13.
- c. 1475. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II, III, 2. 9 miniatures. *Ac. & Bib.* IX (1935), p. 262.
- c. 1475. *Anthology*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 151. 11 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 884/1479. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, private collection. 24 miniatures. *Sotheby*, 19 Dec. 1955, Lot 19.
- 885/1480. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 157. Copyist, Muḥammad Baqqāl. 30 miniatures. *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pl. 62. *Illustrated London News*, 3 Jan. 1931, col. pls. II, III.
- 885/1480. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 158. 27 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 886/1482. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Diwān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 631. Copied 'at Shiraz'. 4 miniatures. *Ars Or.*, 1, p. 106, fig. 6.
- 890/1485 (probably). FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXXIV. 70 miniatures, including a double-page frontispiece, the latter considerably retouched, with a spurious dedication to Tīmūr. The date in the colophon altered to 790, apparently from 890. *NY 1940*, p. 248. *Connoisseur*, CVI (1940), pp. 75-76.
- 891/1486. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum Add. 18188. Copyist, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd. 72 miniatures, 14 of which, all in the earlier part of the volume and including the two reproduced by Stchoukine (below), are in a kindred provincial style. *Survey*, v. 883A. *Bloch*, MP, pls. xcvi-c. *Budge*, pls. IV, VII, IX, XIII. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLVIII.
- 892/1487. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. (Formerly) Paris, Jeuniette Collection. *Hôtel Drouot*, 26-29 March 1919, Lot 233.
- 893/1488. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Diwān*. London, British Museum, Or. 5770. Copied by Shaykh Murshid al-Dīn 'at Shiraz'. 9 miniatures. *Ars Or.*, 1, p. 106, fig. 7. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1028.

- 893/1488. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Heilbronner Collection, 19. Copyist, Na'im al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. *Jhrb. AK*, II, Taf. 89, Abb. 5.
- c. 1490. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXXI. 17 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1490. *Anthology*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXXVIII. Copyist, Muḥammad Ridā. Oblong shape. 9 miniatures, some on coloured paper. Unpublished.
- c. 1490. QAZWĪNĪ: '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*'. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XXXIX. 89 miniatures, many badly damaged. *Ettinghausen*, pls. 41, 42.
- c. 1490. QAZWĪNĪ: '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*'. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Flügel* 1438. Numerous miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1490. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. (Formerly) Meyer Riefstahl Collection. *Schulz*, II, pl. 34.
- c. 1490. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1280. 24 miniatures. (The last few folios are later insertions, and contain a colophon giving the copyist as 'Alī Ridā b. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān 'at Herat'.) *Bloch et E*, pls. XXXI-XXXIII. *Bloch et MP*, pls. LXXIII-LXXIX. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLVII.
- c. 1490. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mihr u Mushtari*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 24. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1490. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mihr u Mushtari*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley* 304. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1490. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı Museum, MS. 612. *Pallès*, fig. 5.
- 895/1490. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. (Formerly) Paris, Demotte Collection, 4090. *Jhrb. AK*, II, Taf. 89, Abb. 6.
- 895/1490. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, British Museum, Or. 2834. Copyist, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. 26 miniatures. *Arnold PI*, pl. XIV. *Jhrb. AK*, II, Taf. 88, Abb. 4. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1090-3.
- 895/1490. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Istanbul, University Library, Yildiz 7955/311. Copyist, Ḥusayn Kelvīch [*sic.*]. *Edhem & Stchoukine*, fig. 26.
- 895/1490. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 228. Copyist, 'Alī b. Khwāja Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī Sulaymānī al-Murshidī. 11 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 895/1490. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mihr u Mushtari*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 766. Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Awḥadī. 8 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 897/1492. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 171. Copyist, Naṣrallāh b. Faḍlallāh al-Murshidī al-Shīrāzī. The end of the colophon is almost illegible, but seems to contain the statement that the manuscript was completed 'at Shiraz'. 31 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 899/1494. 'AṬṬĀR: *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*. Cracow, Czartoryski Museum, MS. 3885. Copied 'at Shiraz'. 9 miniatures. *Arş Or.* I, p. 106, figs. 9-14.

- 899/1494. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Copyist, Hājji 'Alī, called *kātib aḥsan*, 'at Shiraz'. 11 miniatures (faces repainted in India). *Sotheby*, 3 April 1957, Lot 44.
- 901/1496. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Madrid, Palace Library, II. 3. 218. 73 miniatures. *Bordona*, vol. I, fig. 394, where the date is wrongly given as 1485.
- 901/1496. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XLII. Copyist, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. 29 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 902/1496. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, *Aumer* 8. Copyist, Hamdallāh b. Qiwām al-Dīn b. Nizām al-Dīn al-Qāsim al-Adīb Labāsānī. *Schulz*, pl. 64.
- 902/1497. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma* (in two volumes). New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XLIII. Copyist, Pīr Ḥusayn. 44 miniatures, possibly by Muḥammad Mūsā. *Ettinghausen*, pls. 27, 28.
- 902-9/1497-1504. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. (Formerly) Leipzig, Schulz Collection. *Schulz*, pls. 49, 62, 63. *Strzykowski*, figs. 90a, b. *Ettinghausen*, pl. 35.
- c. 1495. JĀMĪ: *Diwān*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 17. Copyist, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Rahman. 16 miniatures. *Dimand*, fig. 10. *E. Art*, I, p. 30. *Dimand MMA*, pl. 12. *Robinson MMA*, pl. 13.
- c. 1500. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma* (second part only). New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XLVII. 21 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 904-5/1498-1500. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Dunimarle (Fife), Erskine of Torrie Institution. 76 miniatures (including 5 double-page; mostly repainted in India). *Robinson LE*, no. 20.
- 906/1501. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Flügel* 512. Copyist, Shams al-Dīn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Sharīf al-Kirmānī. 29 miniatures. *Holter*, Taf. I-III. *SFRMP*, *Bull.* 20^e année (1937), pl. XVIII b, c.
- c. 1500-5. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 976. 48 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, figs. 14-17. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, p. 178, fig. v. *Robinson PM*, pl. 15. *VAM Neg.*, J. 463, J. 467-8, J. 1518, K. 659, K. 668.
- 908/1502. ĀṢAFĪ: *Dāstān i Jamāl u Jalāl*. Upsala, University Library, *Tornberg*, CLXXI. Copied by Sulṭān 'Alī 'at Herat'. 34 miniatures, some of which are separately dated 909 and 910. *Zettersteen & Lamm*, *passim*. *BWG*, pl. LXXXII. *Ars Or.* I, p. 106, fig. 18.
- 909/1504. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 765. Copied by Shaykh Murshid 'at Shiraz'. 8 miniatures. *Ars Or.* I, p. 106, fig. 8.
- 909/1504. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 578. Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn al-Awḥadī. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 940/1534. HĀTIFĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Pertsch*, 903. Copyist Murshid al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 52.
- 955/1548. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma* (in two volumes). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 214. 62 miniatures. Unpublished.

THE LATER HERAT STYLE

Historical background

1468. Death of Sultān Abū Sa'id; Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā established at Herat.
- c. 1470. Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i entered the service of Sultān Ḥusayn.
1501. Death of Mīr 'Alī Shīr.
1506. Death of Sultān Ḥusayn.
1507. Herat taken by the Uzbeks under Shaybānī Khān.

Development and characteristics of the style

Although not represented in the Bodleian Library, the earlier Herat style associated with the name of Prince Bāysunghur b. Shāh Rukh, which provided models for Bihzād and the later Herat artists, must be briefly discussed here in order to preserve the continuity of our account.

As already noted (above, p. 13), the most talented practitioners of the early Timurid court style were concentrated by Prince Bāysunghur at Herat, probably not much before 1425, and the following manuscripts, illustrated there under his patronage, have survived:

- 830/1426. SA'DI: *Gulistān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 119. 8 miniatures and the mark of Prince Bāysunghur's library. Copyist, Ja'far Bāysunghurī 'at Herat'. *BWG*, pl. XLII B; *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pl. 61.
- 830/1426. *Anthology*. Florence, Berenson Collection. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥusām Shams al-Dīn Bāysunghurī. Unpublished.
- 831/1427. KHWĀJŪ KIRMĀNĪ: *Humāy u Humāyūn*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Flügel* 561. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥusām, called Shams al-Dīn Bāysunghurī 'at Herat'. *Wiener Btr.* x, figs. 1-3, 10-11; *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LV.
- 833/1430. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Tehran, Gulistan Museum. 22 miniatures and illuminated dedication to Bāysunghur. Copyist, Ja'far Bāysunghurī. *BWG*, pls. XLIII-L; *Souvenir*, frontispiece; *Survey*, v. 869-74; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LIII, LVI, &c.
- 833/1430. *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı, 1022. 25 miniatures and ex libris of Bāysunghur. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥusām Shams al-Dīn al-Bāysunghurī. *Ars Is.* 1, p. 199, figs. 10-14.
- c. 1430. NIZĀMĪ: *Haft Paikar*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 10. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Aḏhar. *Martin*, II, pl. 67; *Arnold and Grohmann*, pl. 51; *Wiener Btr.* x, fig. 4; *Robinson MMA*, pl. 6; *Ars Or.* II; *MMA Stud.* 1, p. 227, fig. 15; *Sakisian*, fig. 87.
- c. 1430. NIZĀMĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn* (two detached miniatures only). Calcutta, Kanoria Collection. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LVII; *Ars Or.* II.

- 834/1431. NIZĀMĪ AL-‘ARŪDĪ: *Chahār Maqāla*. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, 1454. (At least) 3 miniatures and a dedication to Bāysunghur. *Sakisian*, figs. 52, 56, 57.

The illustrations of the above group of manuscripts show that the early Timurid court style of c. 1395–1420 underwent no basic changes under the patronage of Bāysunghur; it was, however, polished and standardized. His artists, besides achieving an almost unbelievable technical perfection, showed themselves capable of a wide range of atmosphere and emotion. To appreciate their versatility it is only necessary to place side by side the cool brilliance of the Chester Beatty *Gulistān*, the epic grandeur of the Tehran *Shāhnāma*, and the magic and gaiety of the Vienna Khwājū Kirmānī or the New York *Haft Paikar*. It is indeed hardly surprising that the paintings in the last-named were for so long attributed to Bihzād. The best of these Baysunghuri miniatures have seldom been equalled and never surpassed in the whole range of Persian painting.

From the death of Prince Bāysunghur in 1433 until the first appearance of Bihzād about 1480 only nine illustrated manuscripts survive which can be ascribed to Herat with any degree of confidence. They are:

- 840/1436. *Mi‘rāj Nāma* (in Uighur). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. turc. 190. 63 miniatures. Copyist, Malik Bakhshī ‘at Herat’. *Bloch et E*, pls. XXXIV–XXXVII; *Bloch et P*, pls. 12–14; *Bloch et PO*, pls. XXI–XXIX; *Bloch et MP*, pls. LXXX–LXXXVII; *Sakisian*, figs. 49, 53; *Survey*, v. 877; *Gray PPI*, pl. 6; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LVIII–LXIV, &c.
- c. 1440. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, Royal Asiatic Society, *Morley* 239. 31 miniatures (including one double-page). *Wilkinson*, *passim*; *BWG*, pl. LVIII; *Survey*, v. 875, 876; *Gray PP*, pl. 5; *Apollo Misc.* 1951, p. 17, figs. 1–VII; *Robinson PM*, pl. 7; *VAM Neg.*, L. 1073–83.
- c. 1440. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, Royal Asiatic Society, *Morley* 246. 21 miniatures (including one double-page), 8 of which are in the Shiraz style. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 54; *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XXXVII; *Robinson VAM*, pls. 4, 5; *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, pp. 180 ff, no. IV; *VAM Neg.*, J. 455, J. 466, J. 476–7, L. 1033–6.
- 846/1442. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, British Museum Add. 25900. Only one of the miniatures, on fol. 41a, is of the same period as the text; it has not been reproduced.
- c. 1450. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, XIX. 33 miniatures, a few under strong Shiraz influence. *Schroeder IBP*, fig. 3.
- 860/1456. ‘ATTĀR: *Mantiq al-Ṭayr*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Pertsch*, 753. 13 miniatures. Copyist, ‘Atīq al-kātib al-Tūnī. *Schulz*, II, pl. 50; *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 50.
- c. 1460. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Pertsch*, 719. 14 miniatures, a few in the Turkman style. *Schulz*, pl. 66. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 55.

c. 1460-70. SA'DI: *Gulistān*. Paris, Pozzi Collection. 3 miniatures. *SFRMP Bull.* XII, pl. IXa.

874/1469. ṬABARĪ: *Annals*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 144. 4 miniatures. *Souvenir*, p. 39; *Survey*, v. 880; *Illustrated London News*, 3 Jan. 1931, col. pl. II.

In addition to the above, the India Office Library *Khamṣa* of Jamālī dated 869/1465, though executed at Baghdad, contains 6 miniatures of Herat style, in some of which the work of Bihzād is strikingly foreshadowed (*Ethé* 1284; *Arnold PI*, pl. XIII; *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLIV; *Robinson VAM*, pl. 13; *VAM Neg.*, J. 469).

The impression conveyed by this body of material is of a gradual academic stiffening and loss of originality after the brilliant work done for Bāysung-hur, though the standard of execution remains very high. The persistence of this older tradition even after the appearance of some of Bihzād's finest work can be seen in the miniatures attributed to Mīrak in the celebrated British Museum Nizāmī Or. 6810 (*Martin NM*, pls. 1, 2, 9, 10; *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LXX, LXXI).

The Bodleian Library possesses no painting that can be attributed with certainty to Bihzād himself, though Stchoukine is inclined to ascribe to him Nos. 606 and 616; the attribution on No. 688 is doubtful, to say the least. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the authenticity or otherwise of the various late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century works that have been associated with the master's name, a problem authoritatively dealt with in *Stchoukine MT* (especially pp. 68-86 and 120-41). But the effect of Bihzād's individual genius on the style he inherited is clear. In general, stiffness disappears, originality of composition, treatment and colour-scheme returns, and naturalism increases. In particular, the human figures become individualized, and a number of modifications, all with a realistic tendency, are introduced into the treatment of landscape. Especially noticeable is the new method of representing rocks by the most exquisite blending and shading-off of a variety of subtle tints, and a marked softening of the old rigidly geometrical disposition of grass-tufts; the beautifully rendered *chinār*-tree with its richly variegated leaves, so characteristic of the best Safawid miniatures, makes its first appearance, replacing the 'Noah's Ark' type of tree that so often appears in the work of the earlier Herat painters.

But Bihzād was a reformer, not a revolutionary, and his work carefully preserves all the basic conventions that give Persian painting its special character and charm; there is no attempt at modelling or chiaroscuro, the 'high horizon' is maintained, visual perspective continues to be elegantly disregarded, and details of dress, accoutrements, and architecture are more meticulously rendered than ever.

NAWĀ'Ī: *HAYRAT AL-ABRĀR*; *FARHĀD*
U SHIRĪN; *SAB'A SAYYĀRA*; *ṢADD I*
ISKANDAR

MSS. Elliot 287, 408, 317, 339 (Ethé 2116, 2117, 2118, 2120). Foll. 57, 78, 65, 97. 10·8 × 7·2 in. The binding of Elliot 339 is an eighteenth-century one, of painted lacquer with floral designs, but the remainder are modern European half-leather, green with marbled boards. There is no copyist's name, but the set is dated 890/1485. MS. Elliot 287 opens with an exquisite illuminated rosette containing a dedication to Prince Badī' al-Zamān, son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Bayqara (fol. 1a) followed by a double illuminated title-page of sumptuous intricacy and faultless execution, and each of the other volumes begins with an illuminated heading of equally fine quality.

Although these four poems are at present bound separately, it seems highly probable that they originally formed one volume, which also included the *Laylā wa Majnūn* (now John Rylands Library, Turk. MS. 3) to form a *Khamṣa*, or 'Quintet'. In a review of their miniature paintings they are therefore best treated as a whole (see John Rylands Library, *Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1954, pp. 263-70).

In their present state they contain 4, 1, 2, and 4 miniatures respectively, but folios containing miniatures appear to have been removed and replaced with modern paper on which the text has been copied, as follows: MSS. Elliot 408 foll. 23, 35; Elliot 317 fol. 60; Elliot 339 foll. 31 and 60. All the surviving miniatures are contemporary with the manuscript, but their attribution *en bloc* to Qāsim 'Alī in *BWG* (p. 96, though on p. 91 the miniatures are said to be 'not necessarily by the same hand'), on the strength of that artist's 'signature' between the columns of text above the last painting of the series, seems hardly tenable. Though homogeneous, these miniatures display numerous and considerable diversities of style which are hardly compatible with such a theory, and are best regarded as the work of several hands. The subjects are as follows:

MS. Elliot 287.

606. Fol. 7a. 6·2 × 4·1 in. The Prophet and his Companions. *Arnold PI*, pl. XXII (in colour); *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LXXII.

607. Fol. 24a. 5·6 × 4·1 in. Khwāja 'Abdallāh Ansārī with four disciples. *Gray PP*, pl. 6.

608. Fol. 28a. 5·5 × 4·1 in. Nūshīrwān and a lady in a pavilion. *BWG*, pl. LXIV (A).

609. Fol. 34a. 5.5×4.1 in. Shaykh 'Irāqī overcome at parting. *BWG*, pl. LXIV (B).

MS. Elliot 408.

610. Fol. 66a. 5.3×4.2 in. News brought to Farhād of the death of Shīrīn. *Plate VIII*.

MS. Elliot 317.

611. Fol. 14a. 8×4.8 in. The portrait of a Princess shown to Bahrām Gūr. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LXXIV.
612. Fol. 21b. 8.1×5.4 in. Courtiers waiting round an empty throne. *Plate VIII*.

MS. Elliot 339.

613. Fol. 17a. 6.7×4.5 in. Iskandar enthroned. *BWG*, pl. LXV (A); *VAM Neg.*, K. 655.
614. Fol. 39a. 5.7×4.2 in. Majnūn at the house of Laylā. *BWG*, pl. LXV (B).
615. Fol. 77b. 6.5×5.6 in. Iskandar building the wall against Gog and Magog. Very badly smudged.
616. Fol. 95b. 6.1×4.8 in. Mystics discoursing in a garden. *BWG*, pl. LXVI (in colour); *Stchoukine MT*, pl. LXXIII.

These miniatures seem to fall into four groups. The first comprises 606, 609, 615, and 616, the 4 best miniatures in the series, so far as one can discount the lamentable damage to *Iskandar building the wall*; they are worthy of Bihzād, to whom Stchoukine is inclined to attribute the first and last. But they are not necessarily by the same hand, and the landscape background in *Shaykh 'Irāqī* is very different from that in the *Mystics*, although the splendid drawing and individualization of the figures in the former are quite in Bihzād's manner. At least it may be said that, even if not by Bihzād himself, these 4 miniatures are very close to his work both in style and quality. Whether they may be attributed to Qāsim 'Alī is another matter. Dr. Stchoukine has published an interesting study of the miniatures in the British Museum Nizāmī of 1494, on several of which similar 'signatures' of Qāsim 'Alī occur (*Syria* XXVII, 1950, pp. 301 ff.) and argues convincingly against the authenticity of these minute intercolumnar inscriptions, and in the present instance the handwriting appears to be of eighteenth-century date. All this, however, does not by any means rule out the possibility of one or more miniatures in this set being the work of this controversial figure, in whose favour are the two remarks of Mīrzā Ḥaydar

(quoted in *BWG*, p. 91), firstly that he was Bihzād's pupil, and secondly that he was nearly his master's equal.

The second group consists of **611** only. This miniature stands quite apart from the rest, with its smaller-scale figures and delicate archaism, and suggests a painter who had been trained and whose style had been formed before Bihzād came on the scene. The parallel case of the work of Mīrak in the British Museum Nizāmī of 1494 will immediately spring to the mind, but though the present manuscript is ten years earlier, there seem to be too many differences in style between this miniature and the works of Mīrak for an attribution to the latter to be possible. Indeed, among the artists attached to the court of Herat there must certainly have been several representatives of the older generation whose names are unknown to us, and it was doubtless one of these who contributed the present miniature, and, in all probability, the two illustrations in the John Rylands Library *Layla wa Majnūn*.

607, 608, and 610 form the third group. All 3 miniatures are characterized by rather pale delicate colouring, and the same treatment of rocks. The first two are further connected by the close similarity of the faces of their respective principal figures and by some slightly archaic touches in details of decoration; the first and last by the drawing of the animals; and the second and third by the large scale of the figures.

The last group consists of **612, 613, and 614**. In these miniatures the drawing of the faces is weaker than in the rest of the set, and foreshadows Bukhara work of fifty years later. They also exhibit a predilection on the part of the artist for arabesque designs on buildings, which are very well executed and of marked similarity in all 3 miniatures.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 542A, D)
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, nos. 25-27)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 840/1437. ḤAFĪZ: *Dīwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, Robinson, L. Copyist, Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrizī. 2 miniatures of c. 1490. Unpublished.
- 846/1442. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum Add. 25900. 14 miniatures of c. 1490, 1 contemporary with the manuscript, and 4 of the early Safawid period. *Martin*, I, figs. 25, 26. *Sakisian*, figs. 76–79, 81. *Survey*, v. 885B, c. VAM Neg., L. 1094–5. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LXXVII–LXXXII. *Robinson PM*, pls. 11, 12. *Pallès*, pl. 14.
- 872/1467. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. Princeton University Library, Hitti, 54. Copyist, Shīr 'Alī. 6 double-page miniatures of c. 1490, attributed to Bihzād. *Arnold ZN*, *passim*. *BWG*, pl. LXXII. *Martin*, II, pl. 69. *Schulz*, II, pls. 52–55. *Kühnel IM*, pls. 48–51.
- 883/1478. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 156. Copyist, Mīr Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shaykh Aḥmad. 11 miniatures, most of the faces in which have been repainted in India. *BWG*, pl. LXII A. *Arnold PI*, pls. XXVI, XXX. *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pl. 66, 67.
- 890/1485. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 163. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Aḏhar. 13 miniatures. *Martin MB*, *passim*. *BWG*, pl. LXII B. *Martin*, II, pls. 75–78. *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pls. 61–66.
- 890/1485. MĪR 'ALĪ SHĪR NAWĀ'Ī: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Turk. MS. 3. 2 miniatures. This belongs to the Bodleian set; see above, p. 65. *J. Ryl. Bull.*, XXXVII, p. 264.
- 891/1486. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān*. Paris, Rothschild Collection. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī. 3 miniatures, perhaps by Bihzād. *Rév. AA*, x, p. 92, pls. XXXIV, XXXV. *Ars Is.* IV, p. 122, figs. 1–16. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LXXV, LXXVI.
- 891/1486. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. *Sakisian*, fig. 109. *Renaissance*, IV, p. 296.
- 893/1488. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī al-kātib. 5 miniatures. *BWG*, pls. LXVIII–LXXI. *Martin*, II, pls. 70, 71. *Survey*, v. 886, 887. *Burl. Mag.* Feb. 1931, pls. II–IV. *Gray PPI*, 8.
- 900/1494. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Or. 6810. 22 miniatures. *Martin NM*, *passim*. *Martin*, II, pls. 72, 73, 94, 95. *Sakisian*, figs. 88–93, 154. *Bloch MP*, pls. CI–CIII. *Kühnel IM*, pl. 52. *Survey*, v. 882. *Stchoukine MT*, pls. LXIX–LXXI, LXXXIII–LXXXVIII. *Pallès*, figs. 11, 17.
- 902/1496. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamṣa*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Pertsch* 830. *Schulz*, II, pl. 56–61. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pls. 48, 49.
- 903/1498. JĀMĪ: *Bāhāristān*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection, LA 169. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī. 10 (5 double-page) miniatures bearing Bihzād's signature. *Ex libris* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. *Survey*, v. 888.
- 903/1498. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Or. 11327. 24 miniatures. Unpublished.

- c. 1490. MŪSĀ: *Ghazaliyyat*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LI. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī *al-kātib* al-Mashhadī. 5 miniatures, one of them Bukhara work of the mid-16th century. Unpublished.
- c. 1490-1500. 'Aṭṭār: *Mantiq al-Ṭayr*. London, British Museum, Add. 7735. 9 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1500. (?) NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Leningrad, Public Library. *Martin*, II, pl. 79. *Kühnel IM*, pl. 53. *Strzygowski*, fig. 123.
- 915/1509. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 181. Copyist, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kirmānī. 1 miniature. Unpublished.

PROVINCIAL STYLES

A considerable number of Timurid manuscripts are illustrated with miniatures that cannot be affiliated to any of the main styles treated in the preceding pages, and which it is at the same time very difficult to assign to any particular locality. In general, however, it is often possible to class them provisionally as northern or southern.

Only two manuscripts have so far come to light that contain definite evidence of northern provincial origin. These are the Dunimarle *Shāhnāma* of 850/1446, with its illuminated *ex libris* of Sultān Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, a local ruler in Mazandaran, and the British Museum Anthology of 873/1468, executed at Shirwan (Shamakha) on the western coast of the Caspian Sea. Apart from these, we may tentatively describe as northern works firstly those which exhibit stylistic similarity to them, secondly those which, while bearing some resemblance to Herat work of the period, are sufficiently different from or inferior to it as to preclude their attribution to that centre, and thirdly those in which features of the Mongol period persist.

In the same way, miniatures of the first half of the fifteenth century that seem to have an affinity to the Timurid style of Shiraz, yet are obviously not of it, may be provisionally classed as southern provincial. Another southern provincial style is represented by a body of manuscripts dating from the period 1460–82 which may be associated with Shiraz and Isfahan. It was apparently being practised in those cities alongside the Turkman style (see above, p. 28). This style is more delicate and less broad than the Turkman style; the figures are slimmer, the vegetation less summary and conventionalized, and the drawing lighter. In particular it is characterized by very close-set grass-tufts. Two of the manuscripts in question are stated in their colophons to have been executed at Shiraz, and the earliest of the group, the Chester Beatty Nizāmī of 1463, may be assigned to Isfahan (see *BWG*, no. 69, p. 93).

IBN 'IMĀD: *RAWḌAT AL-MUḤIBBĪN* (*HĀL-NĀMA*)

MS. Fraser 82 (Ethé 1265). Foll. 50. 6.8×4.5 in. Binding oriental red leather, gold stamped. There are illuminated panels above and below the text on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, of medium quality.

The manuscript contains 4 miniatures in a rather crude provincial style, perhaps northern, and apparently dating from the late fifteenth century. Particulars are as follows:

- 617. Fol. 9*a*. 3.3×2.4 in. Young man feeding deer by a stream in a landscape.
- 618. Fol. 10*b*. 3.3×2.4 in. A lady seated on a carpet reading to two others in a landscape.
- 619. Fol. 46*b*. 1.9×2.4 in. A similar scene to the preceding, except that the lady reading is not the one on the carpet.
- 620. Fol. 48*a*. 2.2×2.4 in. A young man and a girl seated on a carpet; an attendant maid on the edge of the page has been almost obliterated.

KALĪLA WA DIMNA

MS. Fraser 100 (Ethé 430). Foll. 215, of which only 40-198 are of the original manuscript. 9.2×6.6 in. Modern European binding of cloth with vellum back. The manuscript is undated, and there is no copyist's name; it seems to belong to the late fifteenth century. There are no illuminations.

The 55 miniatures are of small size, oblong, in a provincial style which seems to have a little in common with Herat, and may therefore be tentatively placed in the north-east. The drawing is of fair quality, but the colours are thin and chalky, and the great majority of the miniatures are damaged in a greater or less degree. Particulars are as follows:

- 621. Fol. 41*a*. 2.7×4.5 in. The two jackals, Kalīla and Dimna, addressing the Lion. The pale blue ground without horizon or sky, and the groups of unoutlined green leaves with points curled over, are found throughout the manuscript.
- 622. Fol. 53*a*. 2.7×4.5 in. Two fishermen fishing in a stream; one drags in a net, and the other holds a fish in his hand.
- 623. Fol. 66*a*. 2.2×4.5 in. The jackals Kalīla and Dimna conversing.
- 624. Fol. 66*b*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Lion and the Ox fighting.

- 625. Fol. 74a. 2.2×4.5 in. The Leopard approaching Kalila and Dimna as they converse.
- 626. Fol. 76a. 2.7×4.5 in. Two Lions, the Leopard, and Dimna seated.
- 627. Fol. 81b. 2.2×4.5 in. Kalila and Dimna conversing. This miniature is in comparatively good condition.
- 628. Fol. 83b. 2.6×4.5 in. Two Lions, the Leopard, Kalila, and Dimna conversing.
- 629. Fol. 86b. 2.6×4.5 in. Two Lions, the Leopard, and Dimna seated.
- 630. Fol. 91a. 2.6×4.5 in. Two men conversing while a third leans on a stick.
- 631. Fol. 92b. 2.1×4.5 in. The Rat gnawing the net in which the Birds are caught.
- 632. Fol. 98a. 2.2×4.5 in. The Crow carrying the Rat by the tail towards the water where the Tortoise swims.
- 633. Fol. 100a. 2.7×4.5 in. The Hunter, his dog, the Boar, and the Fawn all lying dead.
- 634. Fol. 103a. 2.6×4.5 in. A vizier addressing a seated king while another looks on, leaning on a stick. As well as the usual damage, the faces here have been deliberately scrubbed out.
- 635. Fol. 103b. 2.2×4.5 in. The battle of the Crows and the Owls.
- 636. Fol. 110b. 2.6×4.2 in. The Hare showing the Elephant his reflection in a pool.
- 637. Fol. 111b. 2.2×4.6 in. A Crow conversing with two Owls.
- 638. Fol. 118b. 2.6×4.5 in. The Crows attacking the Owls in their cave. The rocks are simply rendered, and contain 'picture-puzzle' faces.
- 639. Fol. 121a. 1.7×4.5 in. A fish in the river and a snake on the bank.
- 640. Fol. 124b. 2.5×4.5 in. Two men conversing, one seated on a mat with a cushion. This miniature is in comparatively good condition.
- 641. Fol. 126b. 2.3×4.5 in. The Monkey in the tree and the Tortoise in the pool.
- 642. Fol. 127b. 2.2×4.5 in. Two tortoises on land.
- 643. Fol. 130a. 2.2×4.5 in. The Monkey riding the Tortoise across the water.

644. Fol. 131*b*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King.
645. Fol. 133*b*. 2.2×4.5 in. A man swinging a stick against a hanging vase.
646. Fol. 134*a*. 2.2×4.5 in. The same man in the same room striking at a small animal with his stick.
647. Fol. 135*a*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King.
648. Fol. 136*b*. 2.7×4.5 in. The Crow in a tree below which are two cats and a rat.
649. Fol. 138*a*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Cat and the Rat.
650. Fol. 140*a*. 1.8×4.5 in. The Cat and the Rat.
651. Fol. 142*a*. 1.7×4.5 in. The Cat and the Rat.
652. Fol. 144*b*. 2.3×4.5 in. Young Prince with a sling.
653. Fol. 145*a*. 2.2×4.5 in. The young Prince whose eyes have been pecked out by the Falcon.
654. Fol. 152*a*. 2.7×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King.
655. Fol. 155*a*. 2.2×4.5 in. Three jackals conversing.
656. Fol. 156*b*. 2.2×4.5 in. The Lion and the Jackal.
657. Fol. 158*b*. 2.2×4.2 in. The Leopard, the Lion, and the Lynx.
658. Fol. 160*b*. 2.2×4.5 in. Two lions conversing.
659. Fol. 162*a*. 2.2×4.5 in. The Lion and the Jackal.
660. Fol. 164*b*. 2.1×4.5 in. The Lion and the Jackal.
661. Fol. 168*b*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King. Badly smudged.
662. Fol. 169*b*. 2.1×4.5 in. A lion with two dead cubs.
663. Fol. 171*b*. 2.1×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King. Badly rubbed.
664. Fol. 173*b*. 2.2×4.5 in. A man seated before a sage. The latter's face destroyed.
665. Fol. 174*b*. 1.3×4.5 in. The Crow and the Parrot.
666. Fol. 176*a*. 2.7×4.5 in. The Philosopher seated before the King.
667. Fol. 179*a*. 2.6×4.5 in. The Monkey in the tree and the Tortoise in the water.

668. Fol. 180a. 2.2×4.5 in. The Fox addressing the loaded Ass.
669. Fol. 181b. 2.6×4.5 in. The Lion killing the Ass, while the Fox looks on. The Lion has been viciously obliterated.
670. Fol. 182a. 2.6×4.5 in. A man with a stick before another seated on a mat.
671. Fol. 187a. 2.6×4.5 in. A woman seated before a man.
672. Fol. 190a. 2.6×4.5 in. A man encountering a woman walking.
673. Fol. 191a. 2.7×4.5 in. A man seated before another, who sits on a mat.
674. Fol. 193b. 1.8×4.5 in. Two magpies (?). Very badly rubbed.

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Pers. c. 4 (Ethé 1977). Foll. 539. 13.9×10.1 in. Magnificent contemporary binding, the outside black and tooled with designs of animals and inscriptions, and the doublures decorated with medallions of cut-out work on blue or gold ground. The manuscript opens with a splendid illuminated double title-page, slightly damaged by damp.

Dated 852/1448. Copyist, 'Abdallāh b. Sha'bān b. Ḥaydar al-Ashtarjānī (this transcriber seems to have had a brother, 'Alī, who copied an Anthology dated 840/1437 in the British Museum (Or. 3486), and compare 'Alī Bākīr al-Ashtarjānī who transcribed an Anthology in the Chester Beatty Library in 1435 and an Anwarī in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1453).

Although spaces have been left throughout the manuscript for a considerable number of miniatures, only one has been completed, in a not very good provincial style (perhaps southern) with rather muddy colouring.

675. Fol. 272a. 3.6×6.3 in. Gushtāsp and the Dragon. He has already shot two arrows into it, and is just aiming a third; a curious barbed weapon hangs at his girdle for which there seems no warrant in the narrative of Firdawsī.

For purposes of comparison with the illustration of other *Shāhnāmas* of the period it may perhaps be of interest to enumerate the blank spaces and the probable subjects of the miniatures for which they were intended.

Fol. 10b. Gayūmarth and his court.

Fol. 16a. The birth of Farīdūn.

Fol. 20b. Kāwa the smith comes before Farīdūn.

Fol. 23b. Murder of Īraj.

Fol. 31b. Zāl restored by the Sīmurgh to his father Sām.

- Fol. 54*a*. Rustam catching his steed Rakhsh.
 Fol. 56*a*. The enthronement of Kay Qubād.
 Fol. 61*b*. Rustam and the Dragon.
 Fol. 64*b*. Rustam and the White Demon.
 Fol. 75*a*. Tahmīna coming to Rustam's chamber.
 Fol. 86*a*. The death of Suhrāb.
 Fol. 90*b*. Siyāwush tempted by Sūdāba.
 Fol. 94*a*. The fire-ordeal of Siyāwush.
 Fol. 103*b*. Siyāwush displaying his prowess before Afrāsiyāb.
 Fol. 116*a*. The murder of Siyāwush.
 Fol. 123*a*. Rustam and Pīlsam.
 Fol. 126*a*. Kay Khusraw found by Gīw.
 Fol. 129*b*. Kay Khusraw, Firangīs, and Gīw fording the Jihūn.
 Fol. 132*b*. Kay Khusraw taking the castle of Bahman.
 Fol. 141*b*. The army of Tūs before the castle of Farūd.
 Fol. 149*a*. Farīburz takes over command of the Persian army from Tūs.
 Fol. 156*a*. Defeat of Farīburz by Pīrān.
 Fol. 158*a*. Battle of the Persians and Turanians at Mount Hamāwan.
 Fol. 166*b*. Rustam and Ashkabūs.
 Fol. 176*a*. Rustam and Gahār of Gahān.
 Fol. 186*a*. The Demon Akwān about to throw Rustam into the sea.
 Fol. 189*a*. Bīzhan killing the boars.
 Fol. 191*b*. Bīzhan seized in the apartments of Manīzha.
 Fol. 219*b*. Battle of the Persians and Turanians.
 Fol. 223*a*. Combat of Gīw and Gurwī son of Zara.
 Fol. 225*a*. Combat of Gūdarz and Pīrān.
 Fol. 229*b*. Kay Khusraw viewing the slain Turanian champions.
 Fol. 238*a*. Kay Khusraw killing Shīda son of Afrāsiyāb.
 Fol. 245*a*. Kay Khusraw attacking Gang-dizh.
 Fol. 256*b*. The execution of Afrāsiyāb.
 Fol. 266*b*. The enthronement of Luhrāsp.
 Fol. 272*a*. See above, No. 675.

- Fol. 283*b*. Isfandiyār killing Bīdarafsh.
 Fol. 293*a*. Isfandiyār killing the lions.
 Fol. 295*a*. Isfandiyār killing the Sīmurgh.
 Fol. 316*a*. Isfandiyār slain by Rustam.
 Fol. 321*a*. The death of Rustam.
 Fol. 372*a*. Battle between Shāpūr and ʿTair the Arab.
 Fol. 381*a*. Bahrām Gūr hunting with Āzāda.
 Fol. 386*a*. Bahrām Gūr obtaining the crown from between the lions.
 Fol. 408*b*. Bahrām Gūr and the Dragon.
 Fol. 420*b*. The enthronement of Nūshīrwān.
 Fol. 463*b*. The enthronement of Hurmuzd.
 Fol. 472*b*. Sāwa Shāh slain by Bahrām Chūbīna.
 Fol. 488*a*. Battle between Khusraw Parwīz and Bahrām Chūbīna.
 Fol. 506*a*. Bahrām Chūbīna killing the Lion-Ape.
 Fol. 508*b*. The murder of Bahrām Chūbīna.
 Fol. 519*a*. Bārbad playing music to Khusraw in the garden.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London*, 1931, no. 538c)]

Note. In the Vatican Library there is a fine copy of the *Shāhnāma* (MS. Pers. 118; see *Ac. & Bib.* ix (1935), p. 273), written 'at Yazd' by 'Alī b. Nizām al-Dāmghānī, and dated 848/1444. It appears to resemble the present manuscript closely, even in the circumstance that blank spaces are left for miniatures throughout the volume.

NIZĀMĪ: *KHAMSA*

MS. Elliot 194 (Ethé 594). For particulars of this manuscript, the bulk of whose miniatures are in the Turkman style, see above, p. 30.

The following 4 miniatures, in spite of extensive Indian repainting on the first two, are recognizable as predominantly southern provincial in style from the methods of rendering the ground, the rocky horizon, and certain large plants. The figures, however, are Turkman in style. A comparable imposition of Turkman-style figures on backgrounds of another style may be seen in certain miniatures of a Nizāmī in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Supplément persan 1112), of about 1450-60, where the basic style is Shiraz-Timurid.

- 676.** Fol. 110*a*. 3.6 × 3.6 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn consummating their marriage. All the faces, except perhaps that of the crouching

woman to the left, as well as other parts of the miniature, have been repainted in India. The original style is recognizable from the plants and trees against the blue sky.

677. Fol. 132*b*. 2.9 × 3.6 in. Laylā and Majnūn falling in love whilst at school. All the faces repainted, but the large plant behind the teacher identifies the basic style.
678. Fol. 144*a*. 3 × 3.7 in. The battle of the clans. Although the figures are Turkman in style (the garments have been retouched in one or two places) the ground is typical of the southern provincial style, and the camels are far more delicately drawn than, for instance, in 579.
679. Fol. 155*b*. 3.4 × 3.6 in. Majnūn among the wild animals. Here again the animals, the ground with its close-set tufts of grass, the horizon, and the little flowering plants are typical of the southern provincial (Shīrāz) style, while the face of Majnūn (not so much the rest of him) is unmistakably Turkman. *Plate IX*.

AMĪR SAIFĪ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Ouseley 14 (Ethé 888: *Ouseley* 1831, no. 88). Foll. 59 (numbered 109–67, extraneous matter being bound up at the beginning of the volume). 8.1 × 4.1 in. Modern European binding of red leather. Undated, but paper and handwriting are identical with Ouseley 18, dated 886/1481. The text is written in a single column, and there is a small and delicate illuminated heading on fol. 109*b* in a style usually associated with manuscripts illustrated in the Turkman style.

The 3 miniatures contained in the manuscript, damage apart, are good examples of the delicate provincial style apparently practised at Shīrāz alongside the Turkman style, being very close to those in a copy of Fattāhī's poems in Cambridge University Library (Or. 1280) copied 'at Shīrāz' by the scribe Murshid in 1480. Particulars are as follows:

680. Fol. 113*a*. 3.1 × 1.8 in. A youth holding his dog on a lead as it jumps towards a man wearing a fur cap. A little flaked and discoloured.
681. Fol. 145*b*. 2.6 × 1.8 in. A man swinging his sword at another on the ground by a stream. Deliberately smudged and largely obliterated.
682. Fol. 159*b*. 3.6 × 1.8 in. A young man feeding a fawn, watched by

two others on the horizon. Very slightly discoloured. *VAM Neg.*, K. 657. *Plate IX.*

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 32)]

AMIR MAS'UD: *DĪWĀN*

MS. Ouseley 18 (Ethé 885; *Ouseley 1831*, no. 33). Foll. 90. 8.1 × 4.1 in. Original binding (European back) with sunk gilt medallions on the outer surfaces, and medallions of cut-out work on the doublures. Dated Rabī' I 886/May 1481. There is a neat little illuminated heading, in the same style as that in MS. Ouseley 14, on fol. 1*b*.

Particulars of the 3 miniatures which the manuscript contains, identical in style (and probably by the same hand) with those in MS. Ouseley 14, are as follows:

- 683.** Fol. 22*a*. 2.9 × 1.9 in. A girl observed by a young man near a tree on the horizon. Rather badly discoloured.
- 684.** Fol. 49*a*. 3 × 2.8 in. A young prince shooting a fawn at full gallop, watched by two spectators behind a ridge. Somewhat discoloured.
- 685.** Fol. 63*b*. 2.5 × 1.8 in. Majnūn with two fawns observed by Laylā over the horizon. Somewhat discoloured.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

A. NORTHERN

- Early 15th c. *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Malvern, Dyson Perrins Collection. Numerous miniatures. The manuscript is dated 640/1262, but the miniatures must be about a century and a half later. Warner, *The Dyson Perrins Collection of Illuminated MSS*, vol. II, pl. CXXI. Martin, pls. 40, 41. Kühnel IM, pl. 14.
- 826/1423. KASHĀNĪ: *History of the Mongols*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1443. Copyist, Aḥmad b. Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Abīwardī. 25 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1430-40. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 933. About 100 miniatures, of which only 4 are contemporary with the manuscript; 3 of the others seem to be Safawid copies of Injū originals, while the remainder belong to about 1600. Text written in six columns. The last few folios are replacements, and contain a colophon with the date 1195/1781. *Iran Soc. Jnl.* 1, p. 83, fig. 3. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1048-51.
- 850/1446. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Dunimarle (Fife), Erskine of Torrie Institution. Copied by Faṭḥallāh b. Aḥmad al-Sabzawārī for Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, a local ruler in Mazandaran. 80 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, figs. 6-9. *VAM Neg.*, J. 447, J. 456, J. 461-2, K. 669, L. 1700-5.
- Mid 15th c. NIZĀMĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 362. 11 miniatures. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLIII.
- 872/1467. *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1639. 24 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 873/1468. *Anthology*. London, British Museum, Add. 16561. Copied by Sharaf al-Dīn Husayn Sulṭānī 'at Shamakhā (Shīrwān)'. 8 miniatures. *Arnold PI*, pl. II. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLV. *Robinson PM*, pls. 8-10. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1037-41, L. 1087.
- 877/1472. MĪR 'ALĪ SHĪR NAWĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne, No. 68 litt. turc M. 2 miniatures. *GBA*, XIII (1936), p. 155, fig. 8.
- 878/1473. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LV. 59 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 894/1488. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 972. Copyist, Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad al-Durustāqī al-Badakhshī. 5 miniatures, badly damaged, and one wholly repainted in India. Unpublished.
- 895/1490. JĀMĪ: *Diwān*. London, British Museum, Or. 10902. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.
- Late 15th c. RŪMĪ: *Mathnawī*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LVII. 11 miniatures inserted in a text apparently of the mid 16th century. Unpublished.
- Late 15th c. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, C. 822. 74 miniatures. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pl. II, 14-17.

End of the 15th c. JĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LV1. 13 miniatures. Unpublished.

B. SOUTHERN

823/1420. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Or. 12087. Copyist, Ja'far al-Ḥāfiẓ. 14 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 2. *VAM Neg.*, J. 475, J. 1519.

838-40/1434-6. *Anthology*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 124. Copyists, 'Alī Bākīr al-Ashtarjānī and Zayn al-kātib al-Iṣfahānī. 123 miniatures. *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pl. 69.

841/1438. FIRDAWŚ: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Or. 1403. 93 miniatures. This copy formerly belonged to Mohl, the translator. Unpublished.

843/1439. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Upsala, Royal University Library, *Tornberg*, CL1. 52 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. LIV. *Oriental Miniatures* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1957), pl. 2.

859/1455. FIRDAWŚ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LX. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.

(?)868/1463. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 137. Copyist, Darwish 'Abdallāh of (or 'at') Iṣfahān; the colophon has disappeared. 23 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. LX. *Schulz*, pls. 38-46. *Kühnel IM*, pl. 45.

872/1468. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde. *Schulz*, pl. 56.

876/1472. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. London, British Museum, Add. 6619. Copyist, Murshid. 8 miniatures. Unpublished.

877/1473. 'AṬṬĀR: *Kulliyāt*. London, British Museum, Or. 4151. 11 miniatures. Unpublished.

878/1474. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Or. 2931. 22 miniatures, of which the 7 illustrating Bahrām in the Seven Pavilions are in the Turkman style. *Budge*, pl. III. *Stchoukine MT*, pl. XLVI.

c. 1475. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 9. 20 miniatures. *Robinson MMA*, pl. 9. *Pijoan*, vol. XII, fig. 513.

882/1478. NIZĀMĪ: *Two Mathnawīs*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley*, 248a. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.

882/1478. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. Washington, Freer Gallery, 49.3. Copied by Shaykh Murshid al-kātib 'at Shīrāz'. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.

885/1480. FATTĀHĪ: *Diwān*. Cambridge University Library, Or. 1280. Copied by Murshid al-kātib 'at Shīrāz'. 8 miniatures. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1089.

886/1481. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 162. Copyist, Murshid. 25 miniatures, of which 5 are in the Turkman style. *Cairo 1935 (Album)*, pl. 70. *Illustrated London News*, 3 Jan. 1931, col. pl. III.

887/1482. FATTĀHĪ: *Dastūr i 'Ushshāq*. London, British Museum, Or. 11349. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.

PART III

THE SAFAWID PERIOD

THE TABRIZ STYLE

Historical background

- 1502. Turkmans annihilated by Shāh Ismā'il, who assumed the crown at Tabriz.
- 1510. Uzbeks defeated by Shāh Ismā'il at Merv.
- 1514. Tabriz briefly occupied by the Turks. Badī' al-Zamān removed to Turkey. Ṭahmāsp governor of Herat.
- 1524. Ṭahmāsp succeeded his father Ismā'il.
- 1534. Tabriz again taken by the Turks.
- 1538. Third occupation of Tabriz by the Turks.
- 1548. Fourth capture of Tabriz by the Turks. Capital removed to Qazwin.

Development and characteristics of the style

Bihzād lived on until about 1530, and was taken into the service of Shāh Ismā'il soon after the latter's accession. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the earliest Safawid painting following directly upon the work produced for Sulṭān Ḥusayn at Herat at the end of the previous century. At first the only noticeable difference is a detail of costume—the characteristic Safawid turban with the slender baton, usually coloured red, rising from its centre (see *BWG*, pp. 110–11). But gradually, after the death of Bihzād, the miniatures become larger and more sumptuous, and the figures, of increasing elegance, lose much of the individuality with which he had invested them. The Cartier Ḥāfiẓ, which probably dates from about 1530, may perhaps be taken as the half-way house between the still Bihzadian paintings in manuscripts like Marsh 517 on the one hand (686–8 below), and the magnificent and fully developed court style of the British Museum Niẓāmī of 1539/43 (Or. 2265) on the other.

Tabriz, the Safawid capital until 1548, provides a convenient label for the court style of the period, but it must not be understood in a narrow local sense. In fact one of the finest manuscripts in question, the Paris Nawā'i of 1527 (Sup. turc 316) was probably executed in Khurasan, at Herat; and others were no doubt produced at other important centres in the Safawid kingdom, though Shiraz, as we shall see, maintained its artistic independence until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The unification of Persia under the new dynasty caused most of the provincial variations to disappear.

S A' D I: B Ū S T Ā N

MS. Marsh 517 (Ethé 1983). Foll. 62. 9.6 × 6.3 in. The binding is of good quality, probably contemporary, being of dark leather with sunken gilt medallions. The manuscript is undated, and the copyist has not given his name, but it seems to belong to about 1515–20. By the middle of the century it had passed into the possession of the Ottoman Sultans, and there is a Turkish inscription on fol. 1a which may be thus translated: '*His Highness Sultān Murād (III), may God prolong his life and multiply his might, on Tuesday the 20th Sha'bān 970 (April 13th 1563) with prosperity removed from Kutahiya to Maghnisa and set up his standard. May God most high make his standard victorious and triumphant, and endow him with prosperity, honour, justice, and equity, and grant him long life and outstanding honour. He entered into Maghnisa on Monday the 3rd of Ramaḍān (April 26th) and settled there.*' It will be remembered that Tabriz, the first Safawid capital, fell to the Turks on four occasions, having been captured by Selim the Grim in 1514 after the battle of Chaldiran, and in 1534, 1538, and 1548 by Sulayman the Magnificent; it was probably on one of the two latter occasions that this manuscript formed part of the loot.

Its high quality is proclaimed by the splendid illuminated double title-page (foll. 1b, 2a), and the last of the three miniatures it contains bears an attribution to Bihzād (*ṣawwarahu Bihzād*) written in microscopic letters on the tiled floor. Compared with the illustrations in the Cairo *Būstān* and in the Nawā'ī of 1485 in the present catalogue, these miniatures are simple, small, and unassuming in appearance; their quality is fine, but not superlative. On the other hand, it is remarkable that they conform exactly to Bābur's criticism of the work of Bihzād (which other and better authenticated works do not): '*His work was very dainty, but he did not draw beardless faces well; he used greatly to lengthen the double-chin.* Bearded faces he drew admirably.' It will also be observed that two of them reproduce exactly, though on a reduced and simplified scale, the corresponding compositions in the Cairo *Būstān*. They are, in fact, indubitably Bihzadian, and though they are not worthy of the height of his powers, it does not seem impossible that he may have painted them in his declining years—the period to which the manuscript belongs—when his main concern was the supervision of the royal library staff. It should also be borne in mind that this was the period at which Bābur wrote the criticism quoted above. Particulars are as follows:

- 686.** Fol. 9b. 6 × 3.9 in. King Dārā and the herdsman. This is a simplified and reduced version of the corresponding miniature in the Cairo *Būstān* (BWG, pl. LXIX). The batons round which the

turbans were originally wound have been painted out in Turkey, and there is very slight damage and smudging elsewhere. *Plate X*.

687. Fol. 34a. 6.1 × 3.8 in. Sa'dī entering a learned gathering presided over by a grey-bearded lawyer. Apart from the painting out of the batons on the turbans, this miniature is in excellent condition. *Plate X*.
688. Fol. 59b. 5 × 3.9 in. Yūsuf fleeing from Zulaykhā, who catches him by the wrist and the tail of his coat. This treatment of the subject is identical with that in the Cairo *Būstān* (BWG, pl. LXXI B), though the elaborate architectural foreground in the latter is omitted. The eyes of Zulaykhā, like those of the herdsman on fol. 9b, have been deliberately pricked out, and the miniature has been spoilt by a great smudge across the central group. The attribution to Bihzād mentioned above is on the pale blue tiling at the base of the miniature.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson I.E.*, no. 34)]

HĀFIZ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Ouseley Add. 26 (Ethé 818). Foll. 160. 8.8 × 5 in. Binding, oriental (later than the text and of poor quality) with European back. Dated 12 Jumada II 945/5 November 1538. The manuscript opens with a double title-page, finely illuminated, but a little discoloured. There are four miniatures—delicate works, gracefully drawn, and with rather pale colouring, noteworthy for the elegant rendering of plants and trees, and the extreme smallness of the hands of the human figures. Particulars are as follows:

689. Fol. 50a. 4.6 × 3.3 in. A bearded man and a youth discoursing in a landscape, with another youth on the horizon.
690. Fol. 99a. 5.3 × 3.3 in. A man reading to two lovers embracing in a landscape.
691. Fol. 117a. 5.4 × 3.3 in. A young man and a girl seated in a landscape holding hands; an attendant offers them a dish.
692. Fol. 135a. 6.1 × 4.1 in. A prince at a picnic. This is a larger miniature than the others, containing eight figures. The outer edge of the page has blackened, spoiling three of the faces.

AMIR KHUSRAW: *KHAMSĀ*

MS. Elliot 189 (Ethé 768). Foll. 384. 10.4 × 6.3 in. Modern binding of violet plush. Dated 867/1463 'at Shiraz'. The place of completion is

mentioned in the colophons on foll. 156*a* and 191*a*. The colophon on fol. 191*a* also contained the copyist's name, but this has been almost completely erased. However, this colophon is written in elegant *thuluth* (the text being in *nasta'liq*), and enough of the copyist's first name survives to make it almost certain that it was Maḥmūd. This latter fact, and the character of the script, may indicate that the copyist was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Jamālī, who copied the Shiraz *Shāhnāma* (formerly in the possession of Lord Teignmouth) in 861/1457,¹ and a manuscript of Qāsim i Anwār at Vienna (*Flügel*, 583) in 857/1453.

The illuminated headings on foll. 2*b* (*Maṭla' al-Anwār*), 38*b* (*Shirīn u Khusraw*), 82*b* (*Majnūn u Laylā*), 110*b* (*Kitāb Sikandar Nāma*),² and 156*b* (*Hasht Bihisht*) are fine examples contemporary with the manuscript, though the first has been retouched and the last is slightly damaged. But the manuscript seems to have been 'restored' in Turkey, when gaudy decorations were added on fol. 1*a* and in the margins of foll. 1*b*, 2*a*, 191*b*, and 192*a*, where miniatures occur. Particulars of the latter are as follows:

693*a, b*. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. 6.4 × 4.2 in. each half. A double-page frontispiece of a prince and princess in the palace with musicians (fol. 2*a*), and courtiers and attendants on a terrace with red railings giving on a garden (fol. 1*b*). The style is that of Tabriz, but the quality was never first class, and the miniature has suffered considerable retouching. This has been done more neatly than is usual with Indian 'restorers', and in view of the facts that the batons of the turbans have been erased, and that the borders have been decorated with gaudy designs of a markedly European character, it seems more likely that the retouching was carried out in Turkey. The date should be towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

694. Fol. 191*b*. 7.3 × 4.4 in. A prince holding out-door court. This miniature seems originally to have been of the same date as the preceding, but has been repainted to such an extent that none of the original surface remains.

¹ Now owned by the Kevorkian Foundation (see p. 25).

² Properly, *Ā'ina Iskandari*.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 912/1506. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXII. 115 miniatures, some perhaps a little later in date. Unpublished.
- 915/1509. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 182. Copyist, 'Alī *kātib*. 30 miniatures, probably of about 1550. Unpublished.
- 921/1515. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXIII. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Nizām al-Dīn Muḥammad. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 925/1519. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. 2 miniatures. *Sakisian*, fig. 117.
- 925/1519. HĀTIFĪ: *Haft Manẓar*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 364. 42 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 926/1520. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı. MS. 1398. *Pallés*, fig. 30.
- c. 1520. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXIV. Copyist, Qāsim b. Shādīshāh. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1520. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXVII. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 928/1522. JĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Tehran, Gulistan Museum. Copyist, 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Harawī. 5 double-page miniatures, apparently dating from c. 1540–50, with attributions to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Haydar 'Alī, Qāsim 'Alī Chihra-gushāy, Muẓaffar 'Alī, and Maqṣūd (pupil of Bihzād); but these attributions are not contemporary. *BWG*, pls. LXXXV, LXXXVI. *Apollo*, Feb. 1931, pp. 71–75.
- 929/1523. 'ARIFĪ: *Gūy u Chawgān*. Paris, Cartier Collection. Copyist, 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī 'at Herāt'. 2 miniatures and frontispiece with angels. *BWG*, pl. LXXVIII.
- 930/1524. *Anthology*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 44.48. Copyists, 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr, Shaykh Maḥmūd, Mīr 'Alī, Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shādīshāh. 1 miniature attributed in the text to Bihzād. *Survey*, v. 885 A. *Diez IK*, fig. 86.
- 931/1524. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, C. 184. *Rosen*, No. 34. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Harawī 'at Tabriz'. 27 miniatures. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pl. III, 18–22.
- 931/1525. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 8. Copyist, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr. 15 miniatures. *Martin*, pls. 97–99. *Dimand MMA*, pls. 13–15. *Sakisian*, fig. 127. *Jackson & Yohannan*, opp. pp. 57, 61, 64, 68. *Martin NSP*, *passim*. *Robinson MMA*, pls. 16, 17.
- c. 1525. SHĀHĪ: *Diwān*. London, Schott Collection. Copyist, 'Abdallāh b. Shaykh Murshid. 4 miniatures (including one Indian). *VAM Neg.*, J. 472.
- 932/1526. NIZĀMĪ: *Iskandar Nāma*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley*, 249 A. Copyist, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad *al-kātib* al-Sulṭānī. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.

- 932-3/1526-7. NAWĀ'I: *Collected Works* (2 volumes). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. turc. 316. Copyist, 'Alī Hijrānī 'at Herat'. 6 miniatures. *Martin*, pl. 99. *Bloch* E, pls. XLVIII-LI. *Bloch* P, pls. CXXI-CXXV. *Sakisian*, figs. 111, 112, 114-16.
- c. 1530. HĀFIZ: *Diwān*. Paris, Cartier Collection. 4 (formerly 5) miniatures. *BWG*, pls. LXXV, LXXXIII, LXXXIV. *Sakisian*, figs. 121, 144-6, 152, 190. *Diez IK*, figs. 88, 89.
- c. 1530. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Eton College Library. 48 miniatures, of which only 2 are contemporary with the manuscript. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, p. 178, no. vi. *VAM Neg.*, K. 641.
- 936/1530. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Add. 16780. Copyist, Abū Ṭāhir al-kātib. 16 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Add. 25900. The text is dated 1442 (see above, p. 63), and the miniatures belong to the Timurid period except for the last 4, which are excellent specimens of the Tabriz style. *British Museum postcards*. *Pallēs*, figs. 7, 26.
- c. 1530. RŪMĪ: *Mathnawī*. London, British Museum, Add. 27263. Most of the miniatures retouched in the 18th or 19th century. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. NAWĀ'I: *Diwān*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection, LA 167. 8 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. JĀMĪ: *Diwān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 193. One double-page miniature. Unpublished.
- c. 1535. NIZĀMĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 6. Copyist, Azhar, and the text dated 824/1421, but the 5 miniatures are fine examples of the Tabriz style. *Ars Or.* II. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1046.
- c. 1530-40. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 910. 100 miniatures, the majority in the Qazwin style of forty years later. *Iran Soc. Jnl.* 1, p. 85, fig. 4. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1045.
- c. 1530-40. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 103 (*Flügel*, 537). 5 miniatures. *Holter*, taf. vi, vii. *SFRMP, Bull.* 1937, pl. XIXb.
- 943/1536. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Diwān*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 356 (*Flügel*, 559). 4 miniatures. *Holter*, taf. iv, v. *SFRMP, Bull.* 1937, pl. XIXa.
- 943/1536. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 15531. 48 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 944/1537. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Rothschild Collection. 256 miniatures. *Martin*, pl. 122-9. *Kühnel IM*, pl. 59. *Burl. Mag.*, II, pp. 137, 141; III, p. 277.
- c. 1540. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 236. Text attributed to Sulṭān 'Alī. 1 miniature only of this period, the others being about fifty years later. Unpublished.

- c. 1540. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXVIII. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1540. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXX. Copyist, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusaynī al-Mashhadī. 1 miniature. Unpublished.
- c. 1540. IBN 'ARABSHĀH: *Fākihātu'l-Khulafā*. Leningrad, Public Library 313 (*Dorn*, p. 302). Many miniatures. *Denike*, pl. VII, 38, 39.
- 945-9/1539-43. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Or. 2265. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī. 14 contemporary miniatures by Mīrak, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, Mīrzā 'Alī, and Muẓaffar 'Alī, and 3 added by Muḥammad Zamān in the late 17th century. *Binyon PN*, *passim*. *Martin*, pls. 130-40. *Sakisian*, figs. 142, 143, 147, 148, 151, 153. *Bloch MP*, pls. CXXVI, CXXVII. *Kühnel IM*, pl. 58. *Arnold PI*, pls. LVIII, LXI. *Gray PPI*, 11, 12. *Dies IK*, pls. v, vi, fig. 87.
- 947/1540. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 134 Add. 5 miniatures, 2 of them possibly by Mīrzā 'Alī. Unpublished.
- 948/1541. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykha*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 211. Copyist, 'Abd al-Laṭīf. 4 miniatures, the faces and head-dresses repainted in the 17th or 18th century. Unpublished.
- 949/1542. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 373. Copyist, Muḥammad Muḥsin Tabrizī. 17 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 21.
- 950/1543. HILĀLĪ: *Ṣifat al-'Ashiqīn*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1428. 4 miniatures. *Bloch E*, pl. LXII. *Bloch P*, 23.
- 953/1546. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 489. 68 miniatures, some added and others retouched in the mid 17th century. *Bloch E*, pls. LXII-LXV. *Bloch MP*, pls. CXXXIV, CXXXV. *Bloch P*, pl. 24. *Guirlande*, pp. 10, 11, 15.
- 954/1547. *Anwār i Suhaylī*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 921. 110 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 956/1549. JĀMĪ: *Haft Awrang*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXII. Copyist, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Walī al-Ḥusaynī. 23 miniatures. Unpublished.

THE SHIRAZ STYLE

Historical background

1503. (24 September). Shiraz occupied by Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī.

1509. Shāh Ismā'il resident for some months at Shiraz.

Development and characteristics of the style

As has already been noted, the Turkman style was current at Shiraz at the time of Shāh Ismā'il's accession, and for the next fifteen years or so we have a good range of dated material in which its gradual adaptation to the taste of the new régime can be studied. The result of this period of transition was the Shiraz Safawid style.

To Miss Grace Dunham Guest of the Freer Gallery, Washington, goes the credit for 'isolating' this style, though not everybody will feel it necessary to apply her ingenious geometrical 'canon' method in assigning any given work to Shiraz during this period. Her book, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, provides an excellent range of illustrations and a valuable appendix in which fifty-three manuscripts with miniatures of this style are noted. This number has, however, been almost doubled without difficulty in the *Manuscripts for Comparison* (below, pp. 119 ff.); the Shiraz style, like its predecessor, the Turkman style, seems to have been very prolific. Most of the work is of good average quality, and Shiraz being no longer the seat of a royal prince, it can boast only a very few manuscripts of 'royal' quality.

At first the Shiraz miniatures are simpler, flatter, of more primitive appearance, and less richly coloured than contemporary Tabriz work, as might be expected from their 'Turkman' parentage. In drawing, too, they are less sophisticated and developed, for, as we have seen (above, p. 28), the linear qualities of Turkman-style miniatures are not very noteworthy, whereas the Tabriz artists had inherited the masterly rhythmical drawing of Bihzād.

Towards the middle of the century, however, Shiraz miniatures draw closer to the metropolitan style, and the colouring (as, for instance, in MS. Ouseley Add. 24, of 1552) becomes more brilliant, though still lighter in tone than in the works of the court artists, and there is an increasing emphasis on fine drawing. These tendencies may perhaps be traced, in part at any rate, to the influence of artist 'C' of MS. Ouseley Add. 24, whose fine work is readily recognizable in a number of Shiraz manuscripts between about 1540 and 1560 and whose most remarkable achievement is the Chester Beatty Qazwīnī of 952/1545 (see below, p. 121). During the 1570's and 1580's the Shiraz style often reflects the characteristic figure-

drawing of the contemporary Qazwin style—the round faces and long necks in particular—while retaining its own method and colour-scheme.

The latter part of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth are notable for a considerable number of large copies of the *Shāh-nāma* illustrated in the Shiraz style of which MS. Dep. b. 5 and MS. Ouseley 344 in the present collection are typical examples. The execution of the miniatures in these manuscripts is often summary, and the figures tend to become increasingly lifeless and stereotyped as the century draws to its close.

SA'DĪ: KULLIYĀT

MS. Fraser 73 (Ethé 687). Foll. 177. 9.4×5.8 in. Binding contemporary, with gilt outside and doublures of black cut-out work on blue. This copy of the *Kulliyāt* of Sa'dī is in three volumes, of which this is the first. There is no date or copyist's name, but it was transcribed 'at the foundation (*astāna*) of Haḍrat Mawlānā Husām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm'. In the *Manuscripts for Comparison* below will be found two others transcribed at this establishment, of which no trace remains, in 1516 and 1518. There is a superb double illuminated title-page on foll. 2*b* and 3*a*, signed Rūzbahān.

695*a, b*. This first volume contains also a double-page miniature on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, within an illuminated border, of which each half measures 5.3×2.3 in. (6.8×3.7 in. with the border). The colouring is brilliant and the execution meticulous. It represents a crowded outdoor court scene with a young prince enthroned under a canopy of gold brocade attended by courtiers, with musicians and dancers in the foreground (fol. 1*b*), whilst other courtiers, including a man in armour, and two grooms with led horses, stand before him, and servants bring on a meal (fol. 2*a*). Angels playing musical instruments appear in the sky. This miniature is an excellent example of the Shiraz style during its transition from the Turkman to the Safawid phase, and must date from about 1515. Baton turbans are worn, but the batons are thicker than the usual Safawid type, recalling the Nizāmī in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated 915/1510, and the British Museum Sa'dī (Or. 11847) of 1513 (see below, *Manuscripts for Comparison*). Both these latter manuscripts are the work of Shiraz scribes, Na'im al-Dīn and Mun'im al-Dīn Awḥadī respectively. *Plate XII*.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 42)]

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Hyde 10 (Ethé 915). Foll. 175. 8×5.2 in. Contemporary leather binding in excellent condition, embossed and gilt outside, the doublures containing medallions of cut-out work in black on gold. A fine illuminated heading with very intense blue on fol. 1*b*. Fol. 1*a* bears a seal with the name of Sulṭān Salīm Shāh (?). The manuscript is dated Rabī' I, '94', which, in view of the general appearance of the volume and the style of the miniatures, must be intended for 940, corresponding with October 1533 (Ethé read it as 1094/1683). There are three miniatures of good quality in the Shiraz style of the time, particulars of which are as follows:

696. Fol. 39*b*. 4·3 × 3·4 in. The interpretation of Zulaykhā's dream. Very slightly damaged.
697. Fol. 72*b*. 4·8 × 3·6 in. It was probably Hyde himself who supplied the description of this miniature written on an inserted leaf which faces it: *'Joseph with a glory about his head standeth in the market to be sold: his master in the blue coat standeth by, and others come with their purses full of money to buy him.'* Plate XI.
698. Fol. 117*a*. 4·2 × 3·8 in. Zulaykhā's maids overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf.

HĀFIZ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Ouseley Add. 16 (Ethé 817). Foll. 189. 9·5 × 5·8 in. The binding is contemporary, and of good quality. The manuscript is dated Sha'bān 943/January–February 1537, but the copyist has not given his name. A good illuminated double title-page occupies foll. 1*b* and 2*a*.

There are five miniatures in the early Safawid style of Shiraz, of no more than mediocre quality, in which details of drawing and treatment strongly recall the Turkman style. Particulars are as follows:

699. Fol. 35*a*. 4·2 × 2·7 in. A convivial party of young men and women, with musicians in a landscape.
700. Fol. 67*a*. 4·2 × 3·9 in. A vigorous hunting-scene. Two of the faces in the lower part of the miniature have suffered damage, and the eyes of one on the right have been retouched. The outer edge of the miniature is slightly discoloured.
701. Fol. 92*b*. 4·2 × 3·9 in. A game of polo. The gold cloud, with its pointed 'claws', is characteristic of the Shiraz style at this period. The outer edge of the miniature is slightly discoloured.
702. Fol. 128*a*. 4·1 × 2·6 in. A convivial scene almost exactly reproducing No. 699.
703. Fol. 162*b*. 4·2 × 2·7 in. Khusraw spies Shīrīn bathing. The whole miniature is strongly reminiscent of 'Turkman' versions of the subject.

ʿAṢṢĀR: *MIHR U MUSHTARĪ*

MS. Elliot 257 (Ethé 811). Foll. 176. 9·4 × 5·4 in. Binding, plain black leather. Dated 955/1548. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn *al-kātib*. The illuminated title-page (foll. 1*b*, 2*a*) is badly damaged and has been re-mounted. The six miniatures are typical of the Shiraz style of the period

—competent work, but without distinction, with a rather pale colour-scheme and a tendency to simplification. Particulars are as follows:

- 704. Fol. 19a. 4.5×3 in. Mihr and Mushtarī at school. The foreground has been rather damaged by damp.
- 705. Fol. 35b. 4.7×3 in. Bihzād interceding for Badr and Mushtarī, who are about to be beheaded.
- 706. Fol. 76a. 4.7×4.3 in. Mushtarī's battle with the beast-men. The miniature is somewhat blackened along the left-hand edge.
- 707. Fol. 89a. 5.2×3 in. Mihr killing the lion, whose severed head is represented outside the frame of the miniature in the margin.
- 708. Fol. 113b. 4.7×4.1 in. Mihr displaying his prowess before King Kaywān by running his lance through three small gold rings on the ground while at full gallop. The miniature is a little blackened along the right-hand edge.
- 709. Fol. 141a. 4.7×3 in. Mihr prostrating himself before the princess Nāhid, with whom he falls in love. This miniature is very badly damaged by damp.

NIZĀMĪ: KHAMSA

MS. Marsh 579 (Ethé 588). Foll. 330. 12.5×7.4 in. Binding European, eighteenth century. Dated 956/1549. On the end fly-leaf is stuck a cutting from an old bookseller's catalogue: '*Humseh Nezamy, a singularly curious Arabic Manuscript written nearly 300 years ago, with 22 fine drawings in gold and colours, illuminated title, extremely rare and curious.*' The double illuminated title-page (foll. 1b, 2a) and the illuminated headings on foll. 28b (*Khusraw u Shirin*), 107b (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), 159b (*Haft Paikar*), 218b (*Iqbāl Nāma Iskandari*), and 293b (*Sharaf Nāma Iskandari*) are of good quality and in the style usual in Shiraz manuscripts of this period.

The manuscript at present contains 16 miniature paintings in the Safawid style of Shiraz; it would appear, therefore, that six have been extracted since the catalogue-entry quoted above was written. They are of no more than mediocre quality, and the drawing is sometimes downright bad; they bear a close resemblance to the work of artist 'A' in the *Shāh-nāma* of 1552 (MS. Ouseley 369) and may quite well be by him. Particulars are as follows:

- 710. Fol. 13a. 7.7×5.5 in. Nūshīrwān and his vizier listening to the owls in the ruined village.

- 711.** Fol. 42*b*. 7.8×5.3 in. Khusraw spies Shīrīn bathing. Notable for the 'picture-puzzle' faces in the rocks, a curious flame-like gold cloud, and the remarkable number of fish in the pool and stream.
- 712.** Fol. 72*a*. 7.7×6 in. Shīrīn visiting Farhād's milk-conduit at Behistun. The 'sculpture' is of a prince and princess drinking in a garden under an awning.
- 713.** Fol. 90*b*. 7.7×5.9 in. Bārbad playing music at the court of Khusraw, while Shīrīn listens from the palace balcony.
- 714.** Fol. 117*a*. 7.7×5.6 in. Laylā and Majnūn falling in love whilst at school.
- 715.** Fol. 131*a*. 6.6×5.7 in. Majnūn brought by the old woman to Laylā's tent. He is rendered with originality and effect standing diffidently on one foot and holding out his hands in an imploring gesture.
- 716.** Fol. 152*a*. 6.7×5.4 in. Laylā and Majnūn fainting with emotion at meeting one another. Men in the background tents are represented wearing tall black caps.
- 717.** Fol. 176*b*. 7.6×5.6 in. Bahrām Gūr's discarded mistress carrying the cow upstairs to him.
- 718.** Fol. 181*b*. 7.6×5.9 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Indian Princess in the Black Pavilion of Saturn. Bad drawing is very noticeable in some of the ladies-in-waiting, who have tiny heads on enormous and ungainly bodies.
- 719.** Fol. 190*b*. 7.8×5.8 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Tartar Princess in the Green Pavilion of the Moon. The same bad drawing occurs in some of the female figures.
- 720.** Fol. 197*a*. 7.7×5.9 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess of Khwarazm in the Blue Pavilion of Mercury.
- 721.** Fol. 202*b*. 7.7×5.8 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Chinese Princess in the Sandal-wood Pavilion of Jupiter. The composition exactly reproduces that of No. 719.
- 722.** Fol. 207*a*. 7.7×5.8 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Greek Princess in the White Pavilion of Venus. The composition reproduces that of No. 720 except for a cypress in the garden.
- 723.** Fol. 232*b*. 6.6×5.6 in. Iskandar killing the Zangī champion in single combat. This miniature is strongly reminiscent of the illustration

of Iskandar killing Fūr in the British Museum *Shāhnāma* of 1486 (Add. 18188, fol. 317*b*).

724. Fol. 245*a*. 6.4 × 5.5 in. Iskandar comforting the dying Dārā whose two murderers are led on for punishment.
725. Fol. 274*b*. 7.7 × 5.7 in. Iskandar entertained by the Khāqān of Chin.

HĀFIZ: *DĪWĀN*

MS. Ouseley 20 (Ethé 819: *Ouseley* 1831, no. 168, where the date is wrongly given as 856/1452). Foll. 215. 8.2 × 4.8 in. Binding, modern European. Dated Rabī' I, 956/March 1549; no copyist's name. Foll. 1*b* and 2*a* are very finely illuminated as a double title-page, but slightly defaced by damp.

Five of the miniatures have been inserted, being mounted on pages of inferior paper which have been bound into the manuscript to carry them. Judging by the subjects, they were originally intended to illustrate Niẓāmī, or one of his imitators. They are in a crude provincial style of the sixteenth century (see below, Nos. 1084–8). The remaining four miniatures are delicate works, accurately executed, but they have been entirely spoilt by the clumsy retouching of every face with black ink. They seem to be examples of the Shiraz style, and particulars are as follows:

726. Fol. 32*b*. 5 × 3.6 in. A prince on horseback in a landscape, addressed by a bearded man.
727. Fol. 73*b*. 4.7 × 3.6 in. Hunting-scene. The animals are drawn with great vigour and delicacy.
728. Fol. 108*a*. 4.9 × 3.6 in. A party of dancers and musicians in a landscape.
729. Fol. 163*a*. 4.7 × 3.6 in. A prince playing polo.

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Ouseley 369 (Ethé 494: *Ouseley* 1831, no. 1). Foll. 602. Modern European binding of red leather. Dated 959/1552. Copyist, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad *kātib*. A note by Sir William Ouseley on the flyleaf states that he purchased this manuscript at the sale of Sir Elijah Impey's books in 1810. The manuscript opens with a sumptuous illuminated double title-page (foll. 1*b*, 2*a*), and there is a good illuminated heading on fol. 298*b* at the beginning of the reign of Luhrāsp.

The manuscript contains 24 miniature paintings in the Shiraz style of

the period. They seem to be the work of two artists of unequal merit. The less competent of them, who may quite well have illustrated MS. Marsh 579 three years earlier, painted the first 17 miniatures except Nos. 733 and 741; he will be referred to as 'A'. The other, who exhibits considerably superior gifts in both drawing and colour, was responsible for Nos. 733 and 741, and for the last seven in the volume; he shall be called 'B'.

- 730. Fol. 29*b*. 8.6 × 6.7 in. The evil dream of Daḥḥāk: he is struck down in his palace by the mace of Farīdūn. Artist A.
- 731. Fol. 40*a*. 8.6 × 6.6 in. The defeat and death of Tūr at the hands of Minūchihr; the latter is represented kneeling on his great-uncle and cutting off his head, while the battle still goes on round them. This is a vigorous composition, and one of artist A's best efforts.
- 732. Fol. 57*a*. 8.6 × 7.1 in. Zāl displaying his prowess before Minūchihr. He has seized an adversary by the belt and lifts him above his head; Minūchihr watches from the balcony of his palace. Artist A.
- 733. Fol. 71*a*. 8.8 × 6.1 in. The young Rustam, represented clean-shaven and wearing his traditional panoply of leopard's head and tiger-skin, lifting Afrāsiyāb from his horse by the belt. Artist B.
- 734. Fol. 79*b*. 8.6 × 6.8 in. Rustam and the White Demon, with Awlad tied to a tree. For another version in the same style and of slightly later period, see *Sakisian*, fig. 141. This is not a very successful miniature, and some of the paint has come off on the opposite page. Artist A.
- 735. Fol. 87*b*. 8.7 × 6.8 in. Kay Kāūs in his flying machine. The figure of the king has been spoilt by rubbing, and his face has been erased so viciously that a hole has been made in the paper. For the clouds and sun, cf. *Sakisian*, fig. 140. Artist A.
- 736. Fol. 103*a*. 8.7 × 6.8 in. Rustam distraught at recognizing his son Suhrāb, whom he has mortally wounded. The drawing of the two principal figures is very awkward. Artist A.
- 737. Fol. 111*a*. 8.7 × 6.7 in. The fire-ordeal of Siyāwush. His head and that of his horse are all that can be seen in the enormous fire. Queen Sudāba is not present. Artist A.
- 738. Fol. 137*a*. 8.7 × 6.7 in. The murder of Siyāwush. This is a curiously lifeless composition, with the figures disposed in two straight lines. Artist A.
- 739. Fol. 160*a*. 8.6 × 6.8 in. Kay Kāūs abdicating the throne in favour of Kav Khusraw. Artist A.

740. Fol. 197*a*. 8·7 × 6·8 in. Rustam shooting Ashkabūs and his horse. The stiff and ungainly drawing of the hero contrasts with the lively representation of his victims. Artist A.
741. Fol. 206*a*. 8·8 × 5·7 in. Rustam killing Sāwa the kinsman of Kāmūs with his mace, completely demolishing his head; in the words of Firdawsī: 'Thou wouldst have said "That head hath never even seen its body!" ' Artist B. This is a very unusual subject for illustration.
742. Fol. 214*a*. 8·7 × 6·7 in. Rustam wrestling with Pūlādward. Once again the hero is represented as a stocky, stiff, and ungainly figure. Artist A.
743. Fol. 217*a*. 8·8 × 7·3 in. The Demon Akwān about to throw Rustam into the sea. The face of the demon is a little smudged. Artist A.
744. Fol. 253*a*. 8·7 × 6·7 in. Combat of Gīw and Gurwī in the Battle of the Champions. Artist A.
745. Fol. 289*a*. 8·7 × 6·9 in. The execution of Afrāsiyāb and Garsīwaz by Kay Khusraw. This is a similar composition to No. 738 Artist A.
746. Fol. 298*b*. 6·3 × 4·5 in. The enthronement of Luhrāsp. The composition appears overcrowded, and the miniature is slightly damaged. Artist A.
747. Fol. 341*b*. 8·8 × 5·7 in. Rustam at the feast with Isfandiyār and his son Bahman. The hero is represented as a grey-beard. Artist B.
748. Fol. 424*b*. 8·8 × 5·9 in. Bahrām Gūr, with his Arab allies Mundhīr and Nu'mān, receiving a deputation of the Persians at Jahram. Artist B.
749. Fol. 477*a*. 7·6 × 5·7 in. Battle between Nūshīrwān and the Khāqān of Chin. This is an admirably vigorous composition and perhaps the most successful miniature in this manuscript. Artist B. *Plate XIII.*
750. Fol. 493*a*. 7·6 × 5·6 in. Gāw searching the battlefield for the body of his brother Talhand. Artist B.
751. Fol. 511*a*. 7·5 × 6 in. Royal hunting-party of Hurmuzd son of Nūshīrwān. Artist B. *Plate XI.*
752. Fol. 529*b*. 8·8 × 6·2 in. Hurmuzd dethroned and blinded by Bandwī and Gustaham. Artist B.

753. Fol. 562a. 7·7 × 5·6 in. Combat between Gurdiya, sister of Bahrām Chūbīna, and Tuwurg, brother of the Khāqān. This miniature exhibits a number of close similarities with No. 749. Artist B.

SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *MAʿJĀLIS AL-ʿUSHSHĀQ*

MS. Ouseley Add. 24 (Ethé 1271). Foll. 197. 11·1 × 7·3 in. Painted lacquer binding with floral designs, probably of the eighteenth century. Copyist, Farīd *al-kātib*. Dated, Dhū'lqa'da 959/October–November 1552. Double illuminated title-page (foll. 1b, 2a) of exquisite quality and in excellent condition.

The manuscript contains 74 miniatures. There were originally 75—one for each of the biographies of which the work consists—but fol. 101 with its miniature has been lost, and is replaced by a modern leaf with a blank space left. Apart from this, the manuscript and miniatures are in almost perfect condition. It appears that the latter are the work of three different artists, each of whom was responsible for 25 illustrations; they are here designated as 'A', 'B', and 'C'. Artist C was undoubtedly the most competent Shiraz painter at this period; his style is easily recognizable, and his work is to be found in a number of manuscripts between about 1540 and 1560. In *Guest* (p. 43) he is called 'Painter B', and, besides the two Pavilion subjects (pls. 15, 17) which are recognized as his, other examples of his work in the Freer Gallery Niẓāmī are reproduced on pls. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, and perhaps 24 and 25; and in other manuscripts on pl. 33B, 36B, 37, 39, 40, 41A, and 45. His figure-drawing is markedly superior to that of his two colleagues; his flowering plants tend to be larger than average, with pointed leaves growing *below* (as well as above) the stones from which they spring; and he has a characteristic method of rendering rocks and stones with a sort of saw-edged shading. It will be noticed in the turbans represented in this manuscript that the baton is going out of fashion, and is being replaced by a high *kulāh*. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

754. Fol. 19b. 4·8 × 3·9 in. The Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq conversing with a woman. Artist A.
755. Fol. 21a. 4·4 × 3·9 in. Shaykh Dhū'l-nūn Miṣrī addressing a young man in a landscape in which appear a snake and a scorpion; he is attended by two other young men. Artist A.
756. Fol. 25b. 4·9 × 3·9 in. Mourning for Sultān Ibrāhīm Adham. Artist C.
757. Fol. 27b. 4·8 × 3·9 in. Sultān Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī holding a discourse with four others by a stream. Artist C.

758. Fol. 34*b*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj led to execution. Artist B.
759. Fol. 35*b*. 3.1 × 3.9 in. Discovery of the decapitated body of Abū'l-Ḥasan Kharraqānī. Artist A.
760. Fol. 36*b*. 5 × 3.9 in. The poet Abū Sa'īd Abū'l-Khayr conversing with a young man. Artist A.
761. Fol. 39*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Khwāja 'Abdallāh Anṣārī and his disciples. Artist C.
762. Fol. 42*a*. 4.5 × 3.9 in. The mystic Aḥmad al-Ghazālī discoursing to a young man in a landscape; a book lies between them. Artist A.
763. Fol. 44*b*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. Ḥakīm Ṣanā'ī leaving his shoes outside a butcher's shop. Artist B. *Plate XIV*.
764. Fol. 46*a*. 4.3 × 3.9 in. 'Ain al-Quḍāt Ḥamadānī and four others outside a metal-worker's establishment, where three men are working. Artist C.
765. Fol. 48*a*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Aḥmad i Jam (Zhandapīl) meeting a boy riding in a landscape. Artist B.
766. Fol. 49*b*. 3.6 × 3.9 in. Illustration to the biography of Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥamīd Kirmānī: three musicians, two dancers, and a prince grovelling in a courtyard. Artist A.
767. Fol. 50*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Awḥadī Iṣfahānī as a youth discoursing to two men while seven others look on. Artist B.
768. Fol. 51*b*. 4.5 × 3.9 in. Shihāb al-Dīn Maqtūl and a fawn. Artist A.
769. Fol. 52*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Hummū'ī with a young man reading to him in a courtyard. Artist A.
770. Fol. 54*a*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Rūzbahān Baklī preaching at Shiraz. Artist A.
771. Fol. 55*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī preaching. Artist B. *Arnold PI*, pl. XLV*a*.
772. Fol. 57*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. A prince paying homage to Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, founder of the Kubrawī order of Shaykhs. Artist A.
773. Fol. 60*b*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. The Shaykh of San'ān before the house of the Christian maiden. Artist A.
774. Fol. 65*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. The poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār discoursing in a courtyard. Artist A. *Arnold PI*, pl. XLV*b*.

775. Fol. 66b. 4.4×3.9 in. Laylā comforting Majnūn (illustrating a quotation from 'Aṭṭar's works in the text). Artist C. *Robinson PM*, pl. 17.
776. Fol. 67b. 4.9×3.9 in. Shaykh Ibn Farīd al-Miṣrī drinking with a young man. Artist A.
777. Fol. 69a. 4.4×3.9 in. Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī riding on a black mule towards two young men. The face of one of the latter has been skilfully repainted, probably in the early nineteenth century, with careful shading about the eyes and chin. Artist C.
778. Fol. 71b. 4.4×3.9 in. Shams i Tabrīz playing chess with a Christian. Artist A.
779. Fol. 74a. 4.4×3.9 in. Illustration to the biography of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī. Artist A.
780. Fol. 75b. 4.3×3.9 in. Shaykh Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī riding preceded by a prince on foot. Artist A.
781. Fol. 76b. 3.5×3.9 in. 'Azīz Nasafī encountering a young prince on a grey horse. Artist A.
782. Fol. 78b. 4.4×3.9 in. The poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī outside a blacksmith's shop. Artist C. *Arnold PI*, pl. XLva.
783. Fol. 79b. 4.9×3.9 in. The poet Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī with devotees in skins. Artist B. *Arnold PI*, pl. XLvb.
784. Fol. 83a. 4.9×3.9 in. Shaykh Sa'dī and Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī at the bath. Artist B.
785. Fol. 84a. 4.4×3.9 in. Camp scene, illustrating the biography of Sayyid Mīr Ḥusaynī. Artist A.
786. Fol. 85a. 4.4×3.9 in. Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistarī and his disciples. Artist C.
787. Fol. 87b. 4.9×3.9 in. A man baring his arm before an enthroned king: illustration to the biography of the poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. Artist C.
788. Fol. 88b. 4.4×3.9 in. A young prince visiting Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī. Artist B.
789. Fol. 90b. 4.3×3.9 in. Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī addressing a young prince. Artist C.

790. Fol. 91*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Incident in the life of Khwāja Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband: he meets a young prince carrying a green fur-lined robe in a landscape. Artist A.
791. Fol. 94*a*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. Pahlawān Maḥmūd Puryār wrestling before eight spectators. Artist B.
792. Fol. 95*a*. 3.6 × 3.9 in. Hailstones breaking a bottle of wine held by Mawlānā Luṭfallāh of Nīshāpūr. Artist A.
793. Fol. 96*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. The poet Ḥāfiẓ and a companion drinking, observed by a prince at an upper window. Artist A.
794. Fol. 98*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī and his disciples. Artist A.
795. Fol. 100*a*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Mir Sayyid Sharīf, seated on a golden chair, teaching his pupils on a terrace. Artist A.
(Fol. 101, as noted above, is a modern replacement; the original miniature, illustrating the biography of Mawlānā Muḥammad Shīrīn, was presumably by artist B.)
796. Fol. 102*a*. 3.6 × 3.9 in. The poet Kamāl Khujandī conversing with a young man in a landscape. Artist A.
797. Fol. 105*a*. 4.3 × 3.9 in. Amīr Makhtūm seated on a carpet writing, surrounded by his pupils. Artist C.
798. Fol. 106*a*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Khwāja Abū'l-Wafā and a peasant listening to a young man playing a harp in a landscape. Artist A.
799. Fol. 107*b*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. The poet Qāsim al-Anwār and his pupils out of doors. Artist A.
800. Fol. 112*b*. 4 × 3.9 in. Execution of Amīr Sayyid 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī. Artist C.
801. Fol. 114*b*. 5.2 × 3.9 in. A youth and three men in a landscape, illustrating the biography of Ḥusayn Khwārazmī. Artist A.
802. Fol. 115*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Mawlānā Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī conversing with a young man in a landscape. Artist A.
803. Fol. 116*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Sayyid Ḥakīmī teaching in a school. Artist B.
804. Fol. 117*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Shaykhzāda 'Umar and seven men discursing on a terrace. Artist A.
805. Fol. 119*a*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Mawlānā Muḥammad Tābādkānī and other dervishes dancing. Artist C. *Arnold PI*, pl. XLVIII*a*.

806. Fol. 120b. 4.4×3.9 in. Khwāja 'Ubayd-allāh outside a cloth-merchant's. Artist C. *Plate XIV*.
807. Fol. 125a. 4.9×3.9 in. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and followers. Artist A.
808. Fol. 127b. 5.2×3.9 in. Bilqīs, Queen of Sheba, appearing before Solomon. Artist C. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxiii (in colour).
809. Fol. 135a. 5.3×3.9 in. Iskandar Dhū'l-qarnayn (Alexander) enthroned, with courtiers, and a woman before him. Artist C.
810. Fol. 139a. 4.8×3.9 in. Court-scene, illustrating the story of Farhād and Shīrīn. Artist C.
811. Fol. 144a. 3.1×3.9 in. Majnūn in the desert among the animals. Artist C.
812. Fol. 149b. 4.3×3.9 in. Khusraw Shāh b. Qayṣar conversing with a girl in a landscape at night. Artist A.
813. Fol. 152b. 4.4×3.9 in. Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Sabuktagīn reclining, while a courtier offers to cut off his own whiskers with a dagger. Artist B.
814. Fol. 155a. 4.9×3.9 in. Abū'l-faṭḥ Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh visiting a nomad encampment. Artist B.
815. Fol. 160a. 4.4×3.9 in. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh inspecting the flayed corpse of an executed criminal. Artist C.
816. Fol. 163b. 3.6×3.9 in. Abū'l-muẓaffar Amīr Ismā'īl Gīlakī conversing with a man in a landscape. Artist C.
817. Fol. 165a. 4.8×3.9 in. An incident in the life of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Malikshāh Saljūqī: he encounters a prince whose horse has run away. Artist B.
818. Fol. 170a. 4.9×3.9 in. Sulṭān Sanjar b. Malikshāh Alp Arslānī, sword in hand, surprising a girl entertaining a youth with her harp in a tent at night. Artist A.
819. Fol. 172b. 4.5×3.9 in. Abū'l-faṭḥ Ibrāhīm Sulṭān enthroned with his son. Artist A.
820. Fol. 174a. 4.8×3.9 in. Sulṭān Bāysunghur interviewing the tutor of his son Sulṭān Bābur. Artist C.
821. Fol. 175a. 4.1×3.9 in. Sulṭān Pīr Budāgh b. Jahānshāh enthroned, drinking. Artist A.

822. Fol. 177*a*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. Courtiers weeping before Sultān Ya'qūb Āq-quyunlū. Artist C.
823. Fol. 179*a*. 4.9 × 3.9 in. Incident in the life of Abū Najīb Khazarī: a prince and attendant riding up to a greybeard who has fainted under a gallows. Artist C.
824. Fol. 180*b*. 4.5 × 3.9 in. The Sufi Aṣma'ī conversing with a wild man in a landscape. Artist C.
825. Fol. 185*a*. 4.8 × 3.9 in. A convivial party, illustrating the biography of Shaykh Ādhurī. Artist C.
826. Fol. 187*b*. 4.5 × 3.9 in. Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī at the court of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Artist A.
827. Fol. 193*b*. 4.4 × 3.9 in. Sayyid Badr attended by a prince in his sickness. Artist A.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London* 1931, no. 724 E)
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 47)]

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Ouseley 77 (Ethé 903: *Ouseley* 1831, no. 144). Foll. 189 (interleaved throughout). 7.3 × 4.2 in. Modern European binding. Dated, end of Jumādā II 961/end of May 1554; copyist, Maqṣūd *kātib*.¹ There is a good illuminated heading on fol. 1*b*.

The manuscript contains 4 miniatures, which have suffered from repainting in India. Apart from that, they appear to be simple competent Shiraz work of the period. Particulars are as follows:

828. Fol. 42*b*. 3.2 × 2.5 in. Zulaykhā recounting her dream of Yūsuf to her maids. The faces have been retouched.
829. Fol. 78*b*. 3.2 × 2.5 in. Yūsuf sold as a slave. More extensively repainted than the preceding.
830. Fol. 127*a*. 3.2 × 2.5 in. Zulaykhā's maids overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf. All the faces and Zulaykhā's clothes have been repainted.
831. Fol. 163*b*. 3.3 × 2.5 in. Yūsuf, seated on a carpet, taking the hand of a young man with a prince and two others seated before him.

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Ouseley 28 (Ethé 904: *Ouseley* 1831, no. 145). Foll. 166 (numbered 69–234, various mixed treatises, &c., being bound up at the beginning of

¹ This copyist seems to have been working at Qazwin by 1576 (*Sotheby*, 19 July 1935, Lot 9.)

the volume). Binding, modern European red leather. The work opens with an illuminated double title-page and there are headings on foll. 69*b*, 70*a*, and 70*b*, of good quality, but a little damaged. Miniature paintings appear to have been removed from between the present foll. 129/30, 183/4, and 210/11.

832. The single remaining miniature, on fol. 105*a*, measuring 4.5×3.6 in., represents Zulaykhā, mad with love for Yūsuf, having to be chained in the palace. Though slightly damaged and discoloured, it is of good quality, and typical of the Shiraz style of about 1550-60.

'AṢṢĀR: *MIHR U MUSHTARĪ*

MS. Ouseley Add. 21 (Ethé 813). Foll. 216. 9.8×6 in. Lacquered binding with floral designs, probably eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The manuscript is undated, but should belong to about 1550-60; it opens, on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, with a rather florid illuminated double title-page.

The 6 miniature paintings are mediocre examples of the Shiraz style of this period. Particulars are as follows:

833. Fol. 15*a*. 5.8×4.1 in. Mihr and Mushtarī prostrating themselves before a holy man in a cave.
834. Fol. 54*a*. 5.8×4 in. Bihzād interceding for the youths Badr and Mushtarī, who are about to be beheaded. The face of the executioner has been erased, and the miniature has suffered slight damage elsewhere.
835. Fol. 114*a*. 5.8×4 in. Mihr in the public bath. Slightly damaged.
836. Fol. 134*b*. 5.8×3.9 in. Mihr playing polo. The miniature is vigorous enough, but the execution, as usual, is none too careful.
837. Fol. 161*b*. 5.8×4 in. Battle between Shah Kaywān and Qara Khān. The artist has forgotten to paint in the hoofs of one or two of the horses. The miniature is slightly damaged.
838. Fol. 189*a*. 5.8×3.5 in. Mihr and his bride Nāhīd seated in a pavilion listening to music. The face of a stout janitor on the left has been almost obliterated.

SHARAF AL-DĪN: *ZAFAR NĀMA*

MS. Elliot 345 (Ethé 157). Foll. 329. 14×8.3 in. Binding, modern European. The manuscript is undated, but from the style and certain details of costume in the only miniature it contains it may be assigned to about 1560.

This miniature (fol. 1*b*), measuring 9×5.3 in. and framed in an illuminated border, is beyond doubt the right-hand half of a double-page composition and at present faces the left-hand half of a double illuminated title-page. It is clear, therefore, that a folio has been removed from between them carrying the left-hand half of the miniature and the right-hand half of the title-page on its recto and verso respectively.

839. The miniature represents Tīmūr holding court with a number of subject princes before him, seated under a tent with an awning, and is somewhat damaged. In the foreground is a dancing-girl wearing the backward-projecting head-dress of which this must be a very early example (*Bloch E*, pl. LXXV, reproduces an example dated 1561, but most examples belong to the 70's and 80's).

SA'DĪ: *BŪSTĀN*

MS. Elliot 29 (Ethé 738). Foll. 202. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Binding, modern European. This manuscript contains 4 double-page miniatures, all of which have suffered, more or less, from repainting in India, as has the illuminated heading on fol. 2*b*. Although in most cases the character of the paintings has been lost, they seem to have been very fair examples of the Shiraz style of about 1560-70. Particulars are as follows:

- 840*a, b*. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. 4.1×2.2 in. each side. A prince presiding at a drinking-party on a terrace. Two of the young men on fol. 2*a* have been changed into women by the Indian 'improver'.
- 841*a, b*. Foll. 43*b*, 44*a*. 3.6×2.2 in. each side. A court-scene with musicians. This miniature alone in the manuscript has almost entirely escaped retouching; it seems that the Indian just began on some of the eyes, but went no farther.
- 842*a, b*. Foll. 91*b*, 92*a*. 2.9×2.3 in. each side. An outdoor court scene, with the Prince taking advice from his vizier. Faces have again been repainted.
- 843*a, b*. Foll. 131*b*, 132*a*. 3.2×2.3 in. each side. A battle-scene. The sky and all the faces have been clumsily repainted here. The very tall and tapering helmets are worth noting.

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

Dep. b. 5. Foll. 507. 14×8 in. Modern European binding of red leather. The colophon (fol. 506*a*) gives neither date nor copyist's name. There is a sumptuous double illuminated title-page (foll. 2*b*, 3*a*) and an illuminated

heading at the beginning of the poem (fol. 15*b*). A number of the pages have split along the margin-rulings.

The manuscript contains 21 miniature paintings, including three double-page, in the Shiraz style of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. As usual in the illustration of the *Shāhnāma*, it seems that at least two artists have been employed, and some attempt has been made in the notes that follow to allocate the miniatures between them, using 'A' for the better of them and 'B' for the other. Particulars are as follows:

- 844*a, b*. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. Each half 8.5 × 5.3 in. within an illuminated border. Court-scene, with a young prince enthroned surrounded by courtiers and attended by musicians and servants (fol. 1*b*); the throne-room looks out on to a terrace with railings beyond which a garden can be seen, and this too is filled with courtiers (fol. 2*a*).
845. Fol. 8*a*. 9.1 × 7.5 in. The court of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna.
846. Fol. 18*b*. 9.2 × 6.6 in. Gayūmarth the first King and his court.
847. Fol. 39*b*. 9.1 × 7.3 in. Minūchihr killing his great-uncle Salm. One of the best miniatures in the manuscript. Artist A. *Plate XVIII*.
848. Fol. 60*b*. 6.8 × 7.3 in. Rustam and Kay Qubād on Mount Alburz. This seems to be the work of the inferior artist B.
849. Fol. 69*b*. 6.6 × 7.5 in. Rustam and the White Demon, with Awlad tied to the tree.
850. Fol. 89*a*. 8.3 × 7.2 in. The death of Suhrāb. Probably artist A.
851. Fol. 148*b*. 7.8 × 7.2 in. Tūs and Humān parleying before joining battle. Artist A.
852. Fol. 167*b*. 8 × 7.2 in. Rustam spearing Gahār of Gahan. Artist A.
853. Fol. 177*a*. 7.9 × 7.5 in. Rustam lifting Pūlādwand above his head. Artist A.
854. Fol. 200*b*. 7.8 × 7.2 in. Rustam rescuing Bizhan from the pit. Artist A.
855. Fol. 206*a*. 8.8 × 7.4 in. Single combat of Pīrān and Gīw (?). Artist A.
- 856*a, b*. Foll. 211*b*, 212*a*. Each half 7.7 × 5.3 in. within an illuminated border. Double-page miniature: the enthronement of Luhrāsp. The general arrangement is similar to that of foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, but reversed; that is, the enthroned monarch is on fol. 212*a*, and the

terrace and garden on fol. 211*b*. As not infrequently in miniatures of this period and earlier, one of the courtiers is represented as very fat. He appears in the mural painting of the Chehel Situn at Isfahan representing the entertainment of 'Abd al-Muḥammad, Khan of the Uzbeks, by Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawī, and though this painting in its present state appears only to date from the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1694-1722), the original building having been destroyed by fire, it may be reasonably assumed that the murals were restored in accordance with the original designs of Bihzād's pupil Muẓaffar 'Alī (see *Sykes*, II, p. 228 and reproduction opposite, and *BWG*, p. 115). This obese courtier, then, was probably an actual member of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's *entourage*, and it seems that his prominent figure continued to be introduced by artists into their court-scenes for some time after his death.

857. Fol. 262*b*. 6.3 × 7 in. Rustam shooting Isfandiyār in the eyes. Probably Artist A.
858. Fol. 306*b*. 7.8 × 7.2 in. The defeat of Ardashīr by the Kurds. Artist B.
859. Fol. 332*a*. 8 × 7 in. Bahrām Gūr hunting with Āzāda, he mounted on a horse and she on a camel (cf. No. 954). Probably Artist B.
860. Fol. 362*b*. 7.8 × 7.2 in. The return of Bahrām Gūr to Persia after visiting Shangul, King of India. Artist B.
861. Fol. 400*b*. 8.3 × 7.3 in. The introduction of chess at the court of Nūshīrwān. Probably artist B.
862. Fol. 475*b*. 8.1 × 7.1 in. Shīrīn visiting Khusraw. This seems to be the same artist as No. 845; it may be remarked that the women's head-dresses are the same—an earlier fashion than that portrayed in No. 859—and several of the men's turbans approximate to the shape worn in the early part of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign.
863. Fol. 490*b*. 7.2 × 6.9 in. Shīrīn mourning the murdered Khusraw before stabbing herself on his coffin. Artist B.
- 864*a, b*. Foll. 506*b*, 507*a*. Each half 9 × 5.3 in. within an illuminated border. Double-page miniature of an outdoor court-scene. The enthroned prince is attended by courtiers and musicians (fol. 506*b*), grooms leading a horse and a mule, a man carrying four unstrung bows, and four little black boys, the form of whose turbans indicates that they are intended for Indians. Artist A.

JĀMĪ: *YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ*

MS. Marsh 431 (Ethé 905). Foll. 173. 11 × 6.3 in. The binding is probably contemporary, being of leather, embossed and gilt on the outside, and the doublures decorated with medallions of cut-out work on red, green, and blue; it is in not very good condition. The copyist was Qiwām *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī, and the date is probably about 1575. There is an illuminated heading in florid late-sixteenth-century style on fol. 1*b*. The manuscript contains 3 miniatures of good quality in the Shiraz style of the period, particulars of which are as follows:

865. Fol. 35*b*. 5.9 × 4.4 in. Zulaykhā, mad with love for Yūsuf, has to be restrained with chains in the women's quarters of the palace.
866. Fol. 71*a*. 5.9 × 4 in. Yūsuf sold as a slave. *Plate XV*.
867. Fol. 111*b*. 5.8 × 4.5 in. Yūsuf, his hands tied behind his back, is accused by Zulaykhā of fathering a child upon her.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 51)]

JĀMĪ: *ŞUBĤAT AL-ABRĀR*

MS. Ouseley Add. 23 (Ethé 946). Foll. 141. 10.4 × 7.2 in. European binding. Copyist, Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shīrāzī. Undated; about 1570–80. Foll. 2*b* and 3*a* are finely illuminated, but have apparently been repainted in parts. The manuscript contains 10 miniatures, including a double-page composition and 4 in the margin of the page. They are typical examples of the Shiraz style of the period. The illuminated border to the frontispiece, with its use of indigo instead of lapis lazuli, and the retouching of several of the miniatures, seem to be Turkish work—as also the remargination with pink paper. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

- 868*a, b*. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. Each half 7.5 × 4.1 in. A rather elaborate court-scene with tiled courtyard, a small pavilion, and a tall building against a green background with cypresses, the latter outlined in gold, perhaps in Turkey (cf. No. 876). The Prince is enthroned, right centre; a game of chess is in progress; two young princes are seated in the small pavilion; two women are at the windows of the building, and a door-keeper is at the door; and three dancers—a woman and two boys—perform in the foreground. The whole is enclosed in an illuminated border of good quality, with indigo instead of the usual lapis lazuli blue.

869. Fol. 27*a*. 5.3 × 2.7 in. The ascent of the Prophet into heaven, riding upon Burāq and attended by angels. This miniature is in the

margin, and the faces of the Prophet and Gabriel have been retouched, perhaps in Turkey.

870. Fol. 37a. 3.9×2.3 in. Moses disputing with three men in a landscape.
871. Fol. 72a. 4×2.3 in. An old man distracted by love throwing himself down from a lady's balcony.
872. Fol. 82a. 3×2.6 in. Yūsuf enthroned approached by Zulaykhā.
873. Fol. 93a. 5.2×3 in. Scene at the Ka'ba, illustrating the story of Ghadra ibn Muwāfiq and his prayer to God. This miniature is in the margin of the page, and is slightly defaced at the outer edge.
874. Fol. 105b. 3.9×2.7 in. An old woman inquiring of the Prophet whether she would go to heaven. An interior scene similar to No. 872.
875. Fol. 120a. 3.4×2.8 in. Moses witnessing a greybeard being stabbed by another man.
876. Fol. 125b. 4.5×2.6 in. A man who has cut off his hand throwing it towards an enthroned king (cf. No. 885). This miniature, which is in the margin of the page, has been considerably retouched in Turkey.
877. Fol. 136a. 3.7×1 in. This miniature is in the margin of the page, and the greater part of it has been cut off during remargination. All that is left is a young man holding out his hand, and the heads of three others appearing over the horizon. Quite apart from this, it is somewhat damaged.

JĀMĪ: HAFT AWRANG

MS. Elliot 149 (Ethé 898). Foll. 297. 14.4×9.5 in. Modern European half-leather binding of poor quality. The manuscript is undated, but the copyist was Muḥammad Qiwām *kātib* Shīrāzī. Double illuminated title-page (foll. 1b, 2a) and first heading (fol. 2b: *Silsilat al-dhahab*) largely spoilt by damp, and patched with shiny gold paper. There are other illuminated headings on foll. 91b (*Salāmān wa Absāl*: damaged), 106b (*Tuhfat al-Ahrār*), 129b (*Ṣubḥat al-Abrār*), 169b (*Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*), 221b (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), and 268b (*Khīrad Nāma Iskandarī*).

The manuscript contains 20 miniatures by two different artists, of whom the better contributed 8 to the other's 12. They are all large compositions, crowded with figures for the most part (only four have less than twenty

figures), and of a high standard of execution, though the drawing, especially of the faces, in the miniatures by 'B' (the inferior artist) is rather lifeless. The work of 'A', the better of the two, is very close to the miniatures in a Nizāmī in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Pers. MS. 856), but the latter appear to be some ten years later. The present manuscript may be dated to about 1570. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

878. Fol. 11a. 8.3×7.4 in. Artist B. A street-scene. In the background the shops of a potter and a metal-worker; and in the foreground a porter, street-musicians, and people buying and selling. A minaret, with a man on the balcony, projects into the upper margin.
879. Fol. 29b. 8.8×7.1 in. Artist A. Worshippers round the Ka'ba. The black covering has been looped up to reveal the small door; two minarets and a rocky knoll appear in the upper margin; and in the top right-hand corner is an angel prostrating himself.
880. Fol. 42b. 8.9×6.9 in. Artist A. Another scene at the Ka'ba, with a veiled and haloed personage ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan, as labelled on the veil) standing before it. Rocks and minarets in the upper margin as before.
881. Fol. 64b. 8.8×7.3 in. Artist A. Scene in a public bath.
882. Fol. 88a. 8.2×7.4 in. Artist B. The court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The women who appear on a tall building to the left are wearing the backward-projecting head-dress, but the backward projection is not yet much developed.
883. Fol. 97b. 8.3×6.9 in. Artist A. Twelve boys, including a young prince, playing a sort of hockey with polo-sticks. Among the spectators is a band of four musicians.
884. Fol. 117b. 10.3×6.8 in. A man who has fainted before the Ka'ba being assisted by a greybeard. The upper margin contains the usual arrangement of a rocky hillock between two minarets, with a dark-skinned young man offering an animal's head on a dish to an old hermit. Artist B.
885. Fol. 123a. 8.2×7.4 in. A man who has cut off his hand throws it up towards a king and a young prince on the balcony of a palace. Artist B.
886. Fol. 147a. 8.2×7.2 in. Shaykh Abū Sharāb Nasafī lying down to sleep between two armies in the midst of a holy war (*jihād*). Artist B. *Plate XVI.*

887. Fol. 153*b*. 8.4 × 7.3 in. Artist B. A mounted prince wearing a baton turban of white with gold embroidery, encountering an old thorn-gatherer. Gold ground.
888. Fol. 162*a*. 8.3 × 7.3 in. A bare-headed greybeard with rent garments before two seated men in a tent; a camel rears up over him. Nearby sits a young man in fetters. Artist B.
889. Fol. 179*a*. 8.7 × 7.2 in. Zulaykhā, having seen Yūsuf in a dream, is mad with love for him, and has to be secured with chains. The scene is in the women's quarters of the palace, and the King appears in the foreground. Artist A.
890. Fol. 182*b*. 11.5 × 7.4 in. Yūsuf, mounted and crowned, meeting Zulaykhā in the street riding in a camel-drawn palanquin. Women crowd the windows of a tall building in the background, and in the foreground are children, musicians, and two mummers in animal masks. Artist B.
891. Fol. 190*a*. 8.2 × 7.3 in. Yūsuf sold as a slave. Artist A. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxiii*b*.
892. Fol. 199*b*. 8.3 × 6.8 in. Yūsuf tempted by Zulaykhā in the chamber decorated with pictures of their amours. Artist A. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxiii*a*.
893. Fol. 212*a*. 11 × 7.1 in. Zulaykhā as an old woman meeting Yūsuf in procession through the streets on horseback. The windows of a tall building in the background are crowded with women as in No. 809. Artist B.
894. Fol. 226*a*. 8.3 × 6.9 in. Majnūn in camp is inflamed at the sound of Laylā's voice. She has arrived on a camel which kneels down whilst a man holds its head. Artist B. *Plate XVII*.
895. Fol. 246*b*. 8.2 × 6.9 in. Majnūn in the desert among the wild animals, is visited by the Caliph, with attendants, who has heard his voice with its burden of love. Majnūn has 'Laylā' tattooed on his chest. Artist B.
896. Fol. 252*a*. 8.2 × 6.8 in. The grief of Majnūn, in the desert among the animals, is increased by news of the marriage of Laylā. Four men, who have brought the news, appear on the horizon. Artist A.
897. Fol. 287*b*. 8.3 × 7.4 in. Iskandar, at the window of a tall building to the right of the miniature, observing a discussion of learned men presided over by a greybeard. Artist B.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 721E)

Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 54)]

NIZĀMĪ: *KHAMSA*

MS. Elliot 194 (Ethé 594). For particulars of this manuscript and the bulk of its miniatures, which are in the Turkman style, see above, p. 30. The following miniatures are in the Shiraz Safawid style:

898a, b. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. 6×3.7 in. (fol. 1*b*); 5.8×3.5 in. (fol. 2*a*). Double-page miniature representing Solomon and the Queen of Sheba enthroned, he on fol. 1*b* and she on fol. 2*a*, and surrounded by animals, birds, demons, and angels. The ground and vegetation, and the women (the queen and her attendants) have been repainted, and the whole has been provided with a sumptuous illuminated border in which indigo predominates.

899a, b. Fol. 34*a*. 2.1×1 in.; 2.1×1 in. On either side of the colophon to the *Makhzan al-Asrār* is a small panel painted with figures in a green landscape. Even in these tiny figures the Indian has been at work on one or two of the faces.

900a, b. Foll. 34*b*, 35*a*. 6.3×3.8 in. (fol. 34*b*); 6.3×3.9 in. (fol. 35*a*). A crowded court-scene with dancers and servants preparing a meal, and other attendants. Almost all the faces have been repainted in India. The scene is laid in a garden with two pavilions.

901. Fol. 180*a*. 2.8×3.6 in. This miniature epitomizes the *Haft Paikar*, which begins overleaf. It shows Bahrām Gūr drinking with a princess, attended by six women (the other princesses?) and a small boy. In the upper margin, separated from the miniature by the text, are portrayed the seven differently coloured cupolas, in the middle and largest one of which are a man and a woman regarding each other.

902. Fol. 246*a*. 5.5×3.7 in. A court-scene filling up the space below the colophon of the *Haft Paikar*. All the faces have been repainted in India.

903. Fol. 249*b*. 0.8×3.6 in. A little strip miniature representing two veiled and haloed personages, before one of whom a man prostrates himself, and five other figures, on a gold ground.

‘AṢṢĀR: *MIHR U MUSHTARĪ* (centre columns)
NIZĀMĪ: *KHUSRAW U SHĪRĪN, LAYLĀ WA*
MAJNŪN, &c. (margins)

MS. Elliot 239 (Ethé 1034). Foll. 287. 10×5.6 in. Lacquered binding, probably eighteenth century, with bird and flower designs. Dated (fol.

298*b*, margin) end of Rabī' II 979/September 1571, and (fol. 260*a*) 989/1581. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Harawī 'at Shiraz' (fol. 298*b*) which he mischievously designates *dār al-fisq*, 'the abode of vice', perhaps an intentional *lapsus calami* for *dār al-faīd*, 'the abode of grace', the conventional tag that one might expect. The two different years also may be due to the not unprecedented confusion of the Persian numerals 7 and 8; if so, the later year is more in accordance with the style of the miniatures. There are good illuminated headings on foll. 3*b* and 260*b*.

The manuscript contains 11 miniatures, including one double-page, of which the 6 illustrating Nizāmī are in the margins. They are good examples of the Shiraz style of the time on a small scale, and notable for graceful drawing and meticulous execution.

- 904*a, b*. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. Each half 6.2 × 3.7 in. within an illuminated border. Double-page frontispiece representing an outdoor court-scene. A young prince enthroned with his consort and surrounded by courtiers watches the performance of two very elegant dancing-girls (fol. 1*b*), while servants are engaged in cooking and serving a meal (fol. 2*a*). This very charming little miniature has unfortunately suffered considerable damage, and most of the faces and many other parts are blackened or effaced.
905. Fol. 56*a*. 3.8 × 2.8 in. (Top left-hand margin) Khusraw spies Shīrīn bathing. The delicate shading of the rocks, so characteristic of this period of the Shiraz style, is very noticeable here and in some of the subsequent miniatures.
906. Fol. 61*a*. 3.2 × 2.5 in. Bihzād interceding for Badr and Mushtarī, who are about to be beheaded.
907. Fol. 73*b*. 4 × 4.2 in. (Bottom right-hand margin) Khusraw and Shīrīn hunting; one of their attendants is being mauled by a bear.
908. Fol. 81*b*. 5 × 4.5 in. (Bottom right-hand margin) Khusraw and Shīrīn enthroned. The graceful drawing of the women is here very noticeable.
909. Fol. 116*b*. 4.2 × 2.5 in. Mihr sailing on the Sea of Kansar, inhabited by a number of curious fish and a dragon.
910. Fol. 138*b*. 3.4 × 2.5 in. Mihr at the bath.
911. Fol. 151*a*. 5.4 × 2.1 in. (Top left-hand margin) Farhād carrying Shīrīn and her horse: a highly symmetrical composition.
912. Fol. 219*a*. 3.3 × 2.6 in. The meeting of Mihr and Mushtarī. They are enthroned and being entertained by a dancer and musician. *Plate XV*.

913. Fol. 234*a*. 4.6 × 2.6 in. (Top left-hand margin) Khusraw and Shīrīn consummating their marriage; they are attended by a large number of ladies-in-waiting, and dancers and musicians perform for their benefit.
914. Fol. 278*a*. 4.1 × 2.7 in. (Bottom left-hand margin) Majnūn in the camp of Laylā. This miniature has been slightly blackened and defaced towards the edge of the page.

AMĪR KHUSRAW: *KHIDRKHĀN U DUWAL RĀNĪ*

MS. Ouseley 145 (Ethé 779). Foll. 186. 6 × 3.5 in. Modern European binding of red leather. The manuscript at present contains 6 miniature paintings, but has lost one or more foll. at the beginning and end, so that the first and last miniatures are each a half of a double-page composition. The style is that of Shiraz, about 1585, the drawing and execution being of good average quality. Particulars are as follows:

915. Fol. 1*a*. 4.1 × 1.9 in. Half a double-page composition, within an illuminated border, of a prince hunting. Somewhat damaged and discoloured.
916. Fol. 87*a*. 3.5 × 2 in. Consummation of a marriage, with attendants.
917. Fol. 92*b*. 4 × 1.9 in. A drinking party, with musicians, in a pavilion. The decoration on the white plaster walls is finely rendered.
918. Fol. 132*b*. 3.2 × 1.9 in. Khidrkhān and Duwal Rānī embracing on a carpet, with attendant maids. Two panels of tiling, originally painted in light green, have rotted through the paper.
919. Fol. 186*b*. 3.8 × 2.2 in. Half a double-page composition within an illuminated border. Dervishes dancing in a courtyard.

SA'DĪ: *BŪSTĀN AND GULISTĀN*

MS. Laud Or. 241 (Ethé 703). Foll. 155. 10.5 × 6.2 in. European binding. There is an illuminated heading on fol. 2*b* and minor adornments throughout the volume.

- 920*a, b*. The only miniature is a double-page frontispiece on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, within an illuminated border of mediocre execution, each half measuring 6.2 × 3.3 in. It represents dervishes dancing during the preparation of a meal, and is a fair example of the Shiraz style of about 1580-90.

On fol. 1*a* is a round seal with the date 1004/1596; and on fol. 2*b* is written '*Liber Guil: Laud Archiepi Cant & Cancellar: Universit: Oxon. 1637.*'

FUDŪLĪ: *DĪWĀN*

MS. Elliot 50 (Ethé 2133). Foll. 151. 9.5×5.5 in. Oriental binding of leather with gilt medallions, the back European; it may perhaps be Turkish, and is probably later than the manuscript itself. There are two illuminated headings, on foll. 1*b* and 132*b*, the latter preceded by an uninformative colophon. There is no colophon at the end of the manuscript.

921. The double-page frontispiece with which the manuscript formerly opened has lost its right-hand half. The remaining half, on what is now fol. 1*a*, measures 7.1×4 in., and represents the preparation and serving of a meal on a terrace with garden adjacent. The style indicates a date in the final decade of the sixteenth century. The miniature is enclosed in an illuminated border.

HĀTIFĪ: *TĪMŪR NĀMA* (centre columns)QĀSIMĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA* (margins)

MS. Fraser 87 (Ethé 514 and 1011). Foll. 233. 12×7 in. Contemporary Persian binding, repaired and rebacked, with sunk gilt medallions outside and doublures with medallions of cut-out work (mostly gold on blue). There is no date in the colophon,¹ but judging from the general character of the manuscript and the style of the miniatures, it is in all respects a typical Shiraz manuscript of the end of the sixteenth century. The copyist was Pīr Muḥammad al-Qāsim *al-kātib al-Shirāzī*. There is a good illuminated heading on fol. 1*b*.

- 922*a, b*. 923*a, b*. There are two double-page miniatures, on foll. 50*b*, 51*a*, and 89*b*, 90*a*, resembling each other very closely indeed in subject and treatment, and of the same measurements. Both represent Tīmūr holding court, and in both cases each half of the miniature measures 7.1×2.8 in. They are competent pieces of work, rather uninspired, and typical of their period.

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley Add. 167 (Ethé 1896)

924. The only Persian work in this album is No. 24, a battle-scene from an historical manuscript, measuring 5.3 in. square, and dating from the end of the sixteenth century. An English version of part of the text is written on the reverse of the folio, as follows: '*As the Army of Chungeez was arriv'd at Hoaruzzum (Khwarazm), the King of*

¹ Ethé erroneously states that the manuscript was copied in 1105/1693-4. This, however, is not the date of copying, but the date of an owner's inscription on fol. 1*a*.

that Country engag'd them in Battle, in which the Archers shot forth numberless arrows by one of which his Majesty was wounded in the Breast and taken Prisoner, but there were such a number of Infidells, that Twelve People endeavour'd to rescue him but their Assistance was offer'd in Vain.' The miniature has been reproduced in Sykes (vol. II, opp. p. 78) to illustrate the siege of Urganj, the capital of Khwarazm, by the Mongols in 1220.

It is a typical work of the period, with bold colouring and vigorous drawing. Two faces, those of the trumpeter on the left and the man on the horizon, have been retouched in India.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 60)]

'ABD AL-WĀSĪ' AL-JABALĪ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Ouseley Add. 19 (Ethé 539: *Ouseley 1831*, no. 71). Foll. 205. 8.1 × 5 in. Lacquered binding, probably eighteenth or early nineteenth century, with floral designs. Illuminated heading in rather florid style on fol. 2*b*. The manuscript contains two double-page miniatures, at the beginning and end. They are in the Shiraz style of about 1600–5, bearing a fairly close resemblance to those in MS. Ouseley 344, which is dated 1601. Particulars are as follows:

925*a, b*. Foll. 1*b, 2a*. Each half 5.7 × 2.7 in. within an illuminated border. A hunting-scene. One mounted huntsman is shooting backwards at a bear on the horizon, whilst another in the foreground is decapitating a wild boar (fol. 1*b*); a third is in the act of drawing an arrow from his quiver, and a fourth is about to dispatch a lion which has leaped on his horse's shoulder (fol. 2*a*). *Plate XIX*.

926*a, b*. Foll. 204*b, 205a*. Each half 5.7 × 2.7 in. within an illuminated border. A princely picnic. The prince, with a few attendants, is entertained by a bearded lute-player (fol. 204*b*), while servants prepare to serve the *al fresco* meal (fol. 205*a*).

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Ouseley 344 (Ethé 496: *Ouseley 1831*, no. 2). Foll. 579. Modern European binding of red leather. Dated 1009/1601. The manuscript opens with a double illuminated title-page (foll. 1*b, 2a*) in the very florid style of the time; there is an illuminated heading on fol. 13*b* and an illuminated border round the double-page miniature No. 944 in the same style (the beginning of the poem and the beginning of the reign of Luhrāsp respectively).

The manuscript contains 40 miniature paintings, including one double-page, in the Shiraz style of the time. Characteristic are the bulbous turbans of the men, white and bound round with a diagonal band of a different colour, which seem to have come in with the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, and the head-dresses of the women, which have now become upright from the horizontal shape with a backward projection which is found during the 1570's and 1580's. The style is broad and the treatment in general rather summary. Large manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma* of the same style and period are not infrequently met with, a good comparable example being that formerly in the possession of Warren Hastings and now in the India Office Library (MS. No. 3540, *Ethé* 2992). Particulars are as follows:

- 927. Fol. 22a. 5.1 × 5.8 in. Farīdūn questioning his mother about his origin.
- 928. Fol. 40a. 6.5 × 5.7 in. Ḍaḥḥāk in bonds brought before Farīdūn.
- 929. Fol. 58a. 9.7 × 7 in. The infant Zāl mounted on an elephant presented to Minūchihr by his father Sām.
- 930. Fol. 73a. 6.6 × 5.8 in. The birth of Rustam observed by Zāl.
- 931. Fol. 94b. 9.7 × 7.1 in. Combat of Rustam and the White Demon. This is probably the best miniature in the manuscript, showing the fight still in progress and not, as usually in illustrations of this episode, the actual killing of the Demon by Rustam. *Plate XX*.
- 932. Fol. 108a. 9.6 × 6.7 in. Suhrāb choosing his steed. This miniature is a good illustration of how the Shiraz artists modified the two methods of painting ground which had characterized the Turkman style of a century before (see above, p. 28).
- 933. Fol. 125a. 9.6 × 6.7 in. The fire-ordeal of Siyāwush.
- 934. Fol. 135b. 6.6 × 5.8 in. Siyāwush hunting with Afrāsiyāb.
- 935. Fol. 152b. 7.4 × 5.8 in. Warāzād, King of Sipanjāb, slain by Farāmurz son of Rustam.
- 936. Fol. 176b. 9.6 × 6.7 in. Bīzhan on foot wounding the horse of Farūd.
- 937. Fol. 201a. 9.7 × 6.8 in. Rustam shooting Ashkabūs. He is represented shooting him in the eyes with a forked arrow such as he used later against Isfandiyār, and has not first shot his horse, as recounted by Firdawsī.
- 938. Fol. 211b. 9.6 × 7.2 in. Rustam dragging the Khāqān of Chin from his white elephant.

939. Fol. 238*b*. 9.7×7.1 in. Rustam cleaving Barkhyās, son of the Demon Akwān. (This episode only occasionally occurs in texts of the *Shāhnāma*.)
940. Fol. 251*a*. 6.9×5.8 in. Bīzhan and Hūmān wrestling.
941. Fol. 279*b*. 9.7×7.1 in. Shīda (Pashang) son of Afrāsiyāb killed by Kay Khusraw.
942. Fol. 281*b*. 5.9×5.8 in. Kay Khusraw encountering the three Turanian warriors Ustukilā, Ilā, and Barzūyalā.
943. Fol. 295*b*. 9.7×6.9 in. Death of the King of Makran in battle with Kay Khusraw. Firdawsī kills him with 'a double-headed dart', but in this representation no immediate cause of death is apparent.
- 944*a, b*. Foll. 311*b*, 312*a*. Each half 7.9×5.8 in. within an illuminated border. Double-page miniature: the enthronement of Luhrāsp, with a court feast.
945. Fol. 320*b*. 7.2×5.7 in. Rustam entertained by Luhrāsp (?).
946. Fol. 332*a*. 6.8×5.8 in. Defeat of the Persians by the Turanians under Arjāsp, and death of Luhrāsp.
947. Fol. 346*b*. 8.5×6.7 in. Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, attempting to kill Rustam with a rock as he cooks his meal.
948. Fol. 356*a*. 7×5.8 in. The Sīmurgh picking arrows out of the wounded Rustam after his fight with Isfandiyār. The paint has flaked slightly from this miniature.
949. Fol. 364*b*. 7.3×7.6 in. The dying Rustam shoots his treacherous brother Shaghād behind the tree.
950. Fol. 376*a*. 5.1×5.9 in. The dying Dārā supported by Iskandar while his captured murderers are led on for punishment. This is clearly the work of a different artist. An attempt has been made to distinguish the two races by making the Persians (Dārā and his murderers) brown skinned, while the Macedonians are of the normal pale pink complexion.
951. Fol. 385*b*. 6.7×6.6 in. Iskandar leading his army towards Andalus, the realm of Queen Qaydāfa.
952. Fol. 392*b*. 9.9×7.2 in. Iskandar sees the angel Isrāfīl blowing his trumpet. Probably the same artist as No. 950.
953. Fol. 417*b*. 9.9×6.8 in. Shāpūr capturing Qayṣar (the Emperor Valerian). Probably the same artist as No. 950.

954. Fol. 423*a*. Bahrām Gūr hunting with Āzāda the Roman slave-girl. He is riding a horse and she a camel, playing her harp. Probably the same artist as No. 950.
955. Fol. 441*b*. 9·3 × 7 in. The Khāqān of Chin led away captive by Bahrām Gūr. One of the latter's followers is represented carrying a matchlock gun. Apparently the same artist as No. 950.
956. Fol. 454*a*. 6·2 × 5·8 in. Discomfiture of Pīrūz and the Persian army in the ditch dug by Khūshnawaz.
957. Fol. 466*a*. 8 × 5·7 in. Siege of a Roman fortress by Nūshīrwān. The defenders are armed with matchlocks, and a large siege-engine is being used by the Persians.
958. Fol. 476*b*. 8·8 × 5·8 in. Hunting party of Nūshīrwān after the fall of his vizier Mahbūd. Matchlocks are carried by two of the huntsmen.
959. Fol. 492*a*. 7 × 5·8 in. Gāw searching the battlefield for the body of his brother Talhand.
960. Fol. 507*b*. 8·9 × 5·8 in. The Persian army under Kharrād defeating the Khazars in Armenia.
961. Fol. 513*b*. 8·3 × 5·8 in. Bahrām Chūbīna defeating the Turks under Sāwa Shāh.
962. Fol. 524*b*. 8·9 × 6 in. Battle between Khusraw Parwīz and Bahrām Chūbīna.
963. Fol. 533*b*. 9·8 × 7 in. Khusraw Parwīz talking with the Hermit on his way to Rūm. Apparently the same artist as No. 950.
964. Fol. 540*b*. 7·3 × 5·8 in. Battle between Khusraw Parwīz and Bahrām Chūbīna.
965. Fol. 551*b*. 9·8 × 7·1 in. Defeat of Tuwurg by Gurdiya and her brother Yalān-Sīna.
966. Fol. 569*b*. 9·7 × 7 in. The enthronement of Queen Pūrān-dukht (spelt 'Tūrān-dukht' in the heading). This seems to be the work of the artist of the earlier miniatures.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 915/1510. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, no. 7. 19 miniatures. Copyist, Na'im al-Dīn. *Jackson & Yohannan*, opp. p. 54. *MMA Bull.* VIII, p. 83. *MMA Stud.* 1, p. 216, fig. 7. *Pavry*, opp. p. 94.
- c. 1510-15. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIV. 33 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 918/1512. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXII. 78 miniatures. Copyist, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Najm al-Dīn al-Fuḥanjī. Unpublished.
- 919/1513. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIII. 15 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid al-Dīn Muḥammad 'at Shiraz'. *Guest*, pl. 27A. *Ettinghausen*, pl. 34.
- 919/1513. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān*. London, British Museum, Or. 11847. 13 miniatures (one 18th century). Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn al-Awḥadī al-Ḥusaynī. Unpublished.
- 922/1516. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xc. 29 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad *kātib* 'at the Foundation of Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm at Shiraz'. Unpublished.
- 922/1516. ḤAFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXV. 1 double-page miniature (half missing). Unpublished.
- 924/1518. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 20. 5 miniatures. Copied 'at the Foundation of Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm at Shiraz'. Unpublished.
- 925/1519. HASAN DIHLAWĪ: *Diwān*. Stockholm, Mme Bonneau Collection. 6 miniatures. Copyist, Shaykh Murshid al-Dīn. Unpublished.
- 926/1520. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXVIII. 3 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1520. FIRDAWSĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1360. 12 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1520. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, Schott Collection. 14 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, pl. 19. *Robinson PM*, pl. 16. *VAM Neg.*, J. 459, J. 465, K. 645.
- 927/1521. ḤAFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIX. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 927/1521. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley*, 246a. 13 miniatures. Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awḥadī al-Ḥusaynī. Unpublished.
- c. 1520-5. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xci. 14 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 929/1523. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 7635. 15 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib*, called 'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzī. *Guest*, pls. 27B, 28, 29.

954. Fol. 423*a*. Bahrām Gūr hunting with Āzāda the Roman slave-girl. He is riding a horse and she a camel, playing her harp. Probably the same artist as No. 950.
955. Fol. 441*b*. 9.3 × 7 in. The Khāqān of Chin led away captive by Bahrām Gūr. One of the latter's followers is represented carrying a matchlock gun. Apparently the same artist as No. 950.
956. Fol. 454*a*. 6.2 × 5.8 in. Discomfiture of Pīrūz and the Persian army in the ditch dug by Khūshnawaz.
957. Fol. 466*a*. 8 × 5.7 in. Siege of a Roman fortress by Nūshīrwān. The defenders are armed with matchlocks, and a large siege-engine is being used by the Persians.
958. Fol. 476*b*. 8.8 × 5.8 in. Hunting party of Nūshīrwān after the fall of his vizier Mahbūd. Matchlocks are carried by two of the huntsmen.
959. Fol. 492*a*. 7 × 5.8 in. Gāw searching the battlefield for the body of his brother Ṭalhand.
960. Fol. 507*b*. 8.9 × 5.8 in. The Persian army under Kharrād defeating the Khazars in Armenia.
961. Fol. 513*b*. 8.3 × 5.8 in. Bahrām Chūbīna defeating the Turks under Sāwa Shāh.
962. Fol. 524*b*. 8.9 × 6 in. Battle between Khusraw Parwīz and Bahrām Chūbīna.
963. Fol. 533*b*. 9.8 × 7 in. Khusraw Parwīz talking with the Hermit on his way to Rūm. Apparently the same artist as No. 950.
964. Fol. 540*b*. 7.3 × 5.8 in. Battle between Khusraw Parwīz and Bahrām Chūbīna.
965. Fol. 551*b*. 9.8 × 7.1 in. Defeat of Tuwurg by Gurdiya and her brother Yalān-Sīna.
966. Fol. 569*b*. 9.7 × 7 in. The enthronement of Queen Pūrān-dukht (spelt 'Tūrān-dukht' in the heading). This seems to be the work of the artist of the earlier miniatures.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 915/1510. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, no. 7. 19 miniatures. Copyist, Na'im al-Dīn. *Jackson & Yohannan*, opp. p. 54. *MMA Bull.* VIII, p. 83. *MMA Stud.* 1, p. 216, fig. 7. *Pavry*, opp. p. 94.
- c. 1510-15. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIV. 33 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 918/1512. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXII. 78 miniatures. Copyist, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Najm al-Dīn al-Fuḥanjī. Unpublished.
- 919/1513. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIII. 15 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid al-Dīn Muḥammad 'at Shiraz'. *Guest*, pl. 27A. *Ettinghausen*, pl. 34.
- 919/1513. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān*. London, British Museum, Or. 11847. 13 miniatures (one 18th century). Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn al-Awḥadī al-Ḥusaynī. Unpublished.
- 922/1516. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xc. 29 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad *kātib* 'at the Foundation of Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm at Shiraz'. Unpublished.
- 922/1516. ḤĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXV. 1 double-page miniature (half missing). Unpublished.
- 924/1518. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 20. 5 miniatures. Copied 'at the Foundation of Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm at Shiraz'. Unpublished.
- 925/1519. HASAN DIHLAWĪ: *Diwān*. Stockholm, Mme Bonneau Collection. 6 miniatures. Copyist, Shaykh Murshid al-Dīn. Unpublished.
- 926/1520. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXVIII. 3 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1520. FIRDAWSĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1360. 12 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1520. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, Schott Collection. 14 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, pl. 19. *Robinson PM*, pl. 16. *VAM Neg.*, J. 459, J. 465, K. 645.
- 927/1521. ḤĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, LXXXIX. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 927/1521. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley*, 246a. 13 miniatures. Copyist, Mun'im al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awḥadī al-Ḥusaynī. Unpublished.
- c. 1520-5. 'AṣṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xci. 14 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 929/1523. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 7635. 15 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib*, called 'Aṭṭār al-Shirāzī. *Guest*, pls. 27B, 28, 29.

- c. 1525. BÜŞHĀQ: *Kanz al-Ishtihā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcii. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 933/1527. HILĀLĪ: *Shāh u Darwīsh*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1412. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 934/1528. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Istanbul, Raghib Pasha Library, 1094. 36 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr Muḥsin *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. Unpublished.
- 935/1528. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library P. 195. 21 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib al-'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī*. *BWG*, pl. LXXXVIII A.
- 935/1528. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Ẓafar Nāma*. Persian Government (Library of the Gulistan Palace). 'Many' miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr. *BWG*, pl. LXXXIX. *Guest*, pl. 38.
- 936/1529. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 196. 33 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *kātib*, called al-'Aṭṭār. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. HĀFIẒ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xciii. 3 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Persian Government (Ardabil Shrine). 19 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. ci.
- 938/1531. SA'DĪ: *Kulliyāt*. Eton College Library. 9 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 938/1532. HĀFIẒ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xciv. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 939/1533. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Ẓafar Nāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 175. 30 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. *BWG*, pl. xci. *Guest*, pls. 30, 31A.
- 940/1533. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne. 7 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. xcii.
- 940/1534. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Copenhagen, Kunstindustrimuseum. 23 miniatures. Copyist, Farīdī. Unpublished.
- 941/1534. HĀTIFĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Pertsch* 903. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 52.
- 941/1534. AMĪR ḤASAN DIHLAWĪ: *Diwān*. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, *Aumer*, 66. 4 miniatures. *Schulz*, II, pl. 82B.
- c. 1530-40. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, (late) Anet Collection. *Marteau & Vever*, II, pl. LXXXII.
- 942/1536. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Bankipore, Oriental Public Library, No. 1. (At least) one double-page miniature. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. Unpublished.
- 943/1537. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān and Būstān*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection, LA 180. 13 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib al-Shīrāzī*. Illumination signed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 943/1537. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcv. 22 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad *al-kātib Shīrāzī*. *Guest*, pls. 34B, 36A.

- 945/1538. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Istanbul, Top Kapu Sarayı, *Hazine*, 691. 29 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 945/1539. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcvi. 14 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. *Marteau & Vever*, II, pl. LXXXI. *Guest*, pl. 32. *Sotheby*, 5 Feb. 1935, Lot 18.
- c. 1540. ḤĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcvi. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 947/1541. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Cambridge, St. John's College Library, MS. 1434. 28 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 949/1542. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 932. 38 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 950/1543. ḤĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. Berlin, (late) Zander Collection. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, called Hammāmī. *Schulz*, II, pl. 81.
- 950/1543. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, *Rosen*, 37. 24 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Qiwām *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī, called Hammāmī. Unpublished.
- 951/1544. 'AṣṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. London, (late) French Collection. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib*. Unpublished.
- 951/1544. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Istanbul, Top Kapu Sarayı, *Hazine*, 689. 25 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Qiwām *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī, called Hammāmī. Unpublished.
- c. 1540-50. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcix. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1540-50. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cv. 19 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 952/1545. QAZWINĪ: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 212. 648 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid Shīrāzī, called 'Aṭṭār. *BWG*, pls. xcvi, xcvi.
- 953/1546. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. Munich,¹ Praetorius Collection. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib* al-'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī. Originally 17 miniatures. *Wiener Btr.* x, pp. 20 ff., figs. 13-18. *Guest*, pl. 39.
- 953/1546. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. Leningrad, Public Library, *Dorn*, ccxciii. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 954/1547. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Tehran, Imperial Library. 12 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 954/1547. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Cambridge, University Library, Mm.6.3. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Qiwām. *Guest*, pl. 35. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1042-3.
- 955/1548. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, o8.199, o8.260-84. 25 miniatures. Copyist, Murshid *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pls. 2-26.

¹ Two detached miniatures from this manuscript are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Nos. E. 2138, 2319-1929 (*Pallēs*, fig. 29).

- 955/1548. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.600. Unpublished.
- Mid 16th c. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, C.50. 25 miniatures. *Giusalini & Diakonov*, pl. 23.
- c. 1550. SA'DĪ: *Kulliyāt*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cvī. One double-page miniature. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwām Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, British Museum Add. 27260. 16 miniatures. *Budge*, pl. xi.
- c. 1540-50. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, xcviī. Apparently spurious dates, 915/1509 and 916/1510, and copyist's name, 'Ibrāhīm al-Wahhāb, at Astarabad'. 14 miniatures. *Guest*, pl. 36B, 37.
- c. 1550. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 775. 5 miniatures. *Bloch E*, pl. lx.
- 959/1552. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtart*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cix. 6 miniatures. Copyist, Ḥasan al-Sharīf *al-kātib*. Unpublished.
- 959/1552. SHARAF AL-DĪN: *Zafar Nāma*. London, British Museum, Or. 1359. 12 miniatures. Copyists, Murshid *al-kātib* al-'Aṭṭār, and Ḥasan al-Sharīf *al-kātib*. British Museum, col. repr. No. 30.
- 959/1552. ḤĀFĪZ: *Dīwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cviii. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 964/1556. SA'DĪ: *Kulliyāt*. Edinburgh, University Library, Pers. MS. 104. 17 miniatures. Copyist, 'Ināyat Allāh Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- c. 1550-60. SA'DĪ: *Kulliyāt*. London, British Museum, Or. 1365. 1 double-page miniature signed by Sirāj al-Dīn Qāsim. Copyist, 'Ināyat Allāh *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- c. 1550-60. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cx. 13 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1550-60. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, No. 19. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Qiwām al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 44A. *Pijoan*, vol. xii, fig. 507.
- c. 1550-60. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 8. 19 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 967/1560. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 863. 24 miniatures. Copyist, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Aḥsan 'at Shiraz'. *Guest*, pls. 45, 46A. *VAM Neg.*, J. 451-2, J. 454. *Robinson VAM*, pl. 20.
- c. 1560. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 1344. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwām al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 44A.
- c. 1560. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.610. 21 miniatures. *Guest*, pl. 42.
- c. 1560. QĀSIMĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Persian Government (Ardabil Shrine). 11 miniatures. *BWG*, pl. xcviī.

- 970/1562. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Princeton University Library, *Hitti*, 9. 25 miniatures. Copyist, Mawlānā al-kātib al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 44B.
- 972/1564. NIZĀMĪ: *Laylā wa Majnun*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxiii. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 972/1564. NAWĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. turc. 762. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Hidāyat Allāh. *Bloch et E*, pl. LXXVII.
- c. 1565. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1559. 75 miniatures, some of the faces repainted in India. Copyist, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxiv.
- 974/1567. SA'DĪ: *Kulliyāt*. London, British Museum, Add. 24944. 69 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwām al-kātib al-Shīrāzī. British Museum col. postcard.
- c. 1560-70. ḤĀFĪZ: *Kulliyāt*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxiv. 7 double-page miniatures. Unpublished.
- 976/1568. SA'DĪ: *Būstān and Gulistān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 240. *Guirlande*, pp. 90, 91.
- 976/1569. AḤMAD AL-GHAFFĀRĪ: *Nigaristān*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.598. *Guest*, pl. 46B, 47A.
- 977/1569. FIRDĀWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Naples, Bib. Nazionale, MS. III.G.68. 27 miniatures, some repainted. *Ac. & Bib.* ix (1935), pp. 261 ff.
- c. 1570. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Duwalrānī Khidrkhān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cvii. 5 miniatures, one signed 'Kāfi'. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwām al-kātib al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 43.
- c. 1570. FIRDĀWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Godard Collection. About 20 miniatures. *Grousset*, I, figs. 233-48.
- c. 1570. AḤMAD AL-GHAFFĀRĪ: *Nigāristān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxviii. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1570. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 776. 85 miniatures. *Bloch et E*, pl. LXXVIII.
- 982/1574. ḤĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxix. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Qiwām b. Muḥammad Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 983/1575. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne. *GBA*, xiii (1935), pp. 138-58, fig. 6.
- c. 1575. NAWĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxx. 4 double-page miniatures. Copyist, Qāsim 'Alī al-kātib al-Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 985/1577. 'AṣṢĀR: *Mihr u Mushtarī*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxv. 1 double-page miniature. Copyist, Qiwām Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 988/1580. NAWĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, no. 22. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Qāsim 'Alī al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 47B.

- c. 1580. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Istanbul, Top Qapu Sarayı, MS. 6831. *Pallēs*, figs. 9, 25.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, No. 2233. Copyist, Muḥammad *al-kātib* 'at Shīrāz, the capital city'. *Sakisian*, figs. 136, 140, 141.
- c. 1580. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 856. 16 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. 'AṢṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, A.F. 68 (Flügel 566). Copyist, Hidāyat Allāh. *Holter*, pls. xv-xvii. *SFRMP Bull.* 1937, pl. xxvi.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 867. 14 miniatures, some repainted in India. Copyist, Hidāyat Allāh Shīrāzī. Hadī Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation*, opp. p. 154.
- c. 1580. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Dunimarle (Fife), Erskine of Torrie Institution. 9 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 25. *VAM Neg.*, J. 448, J. 449, J. 499.
- c. 1580. KHWĀNDAMĪR: *Khulāsāt al-Akhhbār*. Lund, University Library. 11 miniatures. Folke Holmér, *En Persisk handskrift med miniatyrer* (Studier i Konstvetenskap tillägnade Ewert Wrangel, Lund, 1928), figs. 1-6. *Oriental Miniatures* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1957), pl. 4.
- 988/1580. HĀTIFĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Shujā' al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Unpublished.
- 989/1581. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1150. 80 miniatures. *Bloch et E*, pl. LXXIX.
- 990/1582. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Pal. Orient. 5. 25 miniatures. *Ac. & Bib.* ix (1935), pp. 261 ff.
- 991/1583. HĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. London, private collection. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Qāsim 'Alī al-Shīrāzī. *Sotheby*, 16 May 1955, Lot 62.
- 991/1583. HĀFĪZ: *Diwān*. Cairo, Bibliothèque Égyptienne. One miniature signed by 'Alī b. Nizām Būland al-Dīn 'Alī b. Jawhar b. Sultān 'Abdallāh. Copyist, Hidāyat Allāh *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī. *GBA*, XIII (1935), pp. 138-58, fig. 4.
- (9)92/1584. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Pennsylvania University Museum. 22 miniatures. Copyist, Qāsim *al-kātib* al-Shīrāzī 'at Shiraz'. *BWG*, pl. cii A. *Guest*, pls. 48, 49.
- 992/1585. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 334. 26 miniatures. *Giusalini & Diakonov*, pls. 27-30.
- c. 1585. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 382. 30 miniatures. *Giusalini & Diakonov*, pl. iv, 31.
- c. 1585. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Hasht Bihisht*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 633. 8 miniatures. (Text dated 908/1503.) Unpublished.
- c. 1585. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Tehran, Imperial Library. 11 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwām Shīrāzī. Unpublished.

- 998/1589. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Rosenbach Collection. Copyist, Qiwām b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī. *Guest*, pl. 50.
- 1003/1595. MĪRKHWĀND: *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library P. 254. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Hājji al-Jahramī. *Arnold PI*, pl. XXI (in colour).
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Windsor, Royal Library, A/5. 88 miniatures, some in the Qazwin style, and a few retouched in India. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, p. 179, figs. VII, VIII.
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 2992. 59 miniatures. Formerly the property of Warren Hastings. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 26. *VAM Neg.*, J. 580.
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Cambridge, University Library, MS. Add. 269. 13 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1600-5. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ: *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 1871. 49 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1015/1607. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Sydney, (late) Garling Collection. 28 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. 'Ināyat Allāh. (Date altered to 917/1511, and illuminated dedication to Bābur inserted.) Unpublished.
- 1016/1608. SANĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 12. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad al-Qiwāmī. Unpublished.
- 1027/1618. ḤĀFIẒ: *Diwān*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 945. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.

Note. A *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Pers. MS. 35; see below, p. 160), dated 1037/1628, and copied by Mīr 'Alī 'at Shiraz', contains two double-page miniatures in typical Isfahan style, which indicates that by about 1620-5 the Shiraz Safawid style had been superseded and merged into the metropolitan style.

THE BUKHARA STYLE

Historical background

- 1500. Bukhara taken by the Shaybanids.
- 1507. Herat taken by Shaybānī Khān: Badī' al-Zamān, the last Timurid, takes refuge with Shāh Ismā'īl.
- 1510. Shaybānī Khān defeated and killed by Shāh Ismā'īl at Merv.
- 1512. 'Ubayd-allāh b. Maḥmūd resident at Bukhara.
- 1533. Accession of 'Ubayd-allāh b. Maḥmūd.
- 1535. Herat raided and sacked by the Uzbeks.
- 1540. 'Abd al-Laṭīf makes Bukhara the capital of a separate state.
'Ubayd-allah succeeded by 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur Khān.
- 1550. Accession of Yār Muḥammad.
- 1557. Burhān Sultān.
'Abdallāh b. Iskandar.
- 1578. 'Abdallāh takes Samarqand.
- 1597. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abdallāh.
- 1598. Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulayman.
- 1600. Bukhara under the Janids of Astrakhan.

Development and characteristics of the style

The Bukhara style is admirably summed up in *BWG* (p. 106): 'Bukhara painting, though mainly traditional, not being stimulated by fresh influences, yet has an individual character and charm, depending partly on a general simplification of earlier formulas and the lavish use of pure colours. Usually, as in the illustration of the stock themes, the types depicted are rather short and sturdy. The influence of Bihzād's school is clearly apparent in design, in colour, attitudes, and gestures.'

The earliest Bukhara work is, in fact, almost indistinguishable from that of Bihzād's school, because it is actually the work of artists of that school who were transported across the Oxus by the Uzbeks when they took Herat in 1507, and again in 1535.

This initial inspiration, however, did not in general last beyond the middle of the sixteenth century, by which time, we may suppose, the original Khurasani immigrants were either dead or in retirement. Their

pupils—presumably Uzbeks—had not the talent to maintain, far less advance, the high standards with which the school had been launched. There seems to have been no further artistic contact with Persia, and the changing court styles of Qazwin and Isfahan find no echo in contemporary Bukhara miniatures. With such a complete lack of fresh inspiration, either native or imported, it is not surprising that the Bukhara style went completely to seed during the second half of the sixteenth century, until by 1595 we find it reduced to the sterile formalities of MSS. Elliot 337 and 418.

The connexion of the Bukhara school with Mughal painting under Akbar, though not relevant to the present Catalogue, seems worth a passing mention. British Museum MS. Or. 5302, for example, was copied 'at Bukhara' by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī in 974/1567; seven of its thirteen miniatures are first-class productions of Mughal court artists, probably of Jahāngīr's period, while the rest are Bukhara works of an equally high standard, four of them being signed by the artist Shaḥm *mudhahhib*. In these latter all the costumes are Indian, and inscriptions to 'Abū'l-Ghāzī Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh' appear on the buildings. This combination of circumstances poses several problems that might well repay further study, but this is not the place to explore them. In another Bukhara manuscript in the British Museum (Hātifi, *Timūr Nāma*, Add. 22703), of about the same date, are several battle-scenes that seem to be prototypes of the crowded mêlées beloved by Akbar's court painters who illustrated the celebrated *Akbar Nāma* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Furthermore, representations of figures in Indian costume are not infrequently encountered among the separate paintings and drawings produced by Bukhara and Khurasan artists of the later sixteenth century (e.g. *BWG*, pl. xcix (A), c (B); *Robinson LE*, nos. 75, 107).

HĀTIFĪ: *KHUSRAW U SHIRĪN*

MS. Ouseley 19 (Ethé 1014: *Ouseley 1831*, no. 86). Foll. 95. 8.2 × 5.2 in. Modern European binding of red leather. There is a richly illuminated double title-page on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, but sadly damaged by damp; the style of the illumination approximates to that of Herat at the end of the fifteenth century, but contains a large number of medallions of different colours. The manuscript is undated, and the copyist has not given his name.

The 5 miniature paintings with which it is illustrated are of a meticulous execution with clear but restrained colouring. Features of the style are (i) the Mongol character of the faces, (ii) the minute and exquisite treatment of flowers, and (iii) the practice of disposing figures in pairs, identically posed. At first sight they might be assigned to the fifteenth century, but the poet Hātifī was a nephew of Jāmī, and did not die until 1520; however, the manuscript was probably completed in his lifetime. It may be compared with two similar (though inferior and perhaps slightly later) copies of the same work in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see below, p. 134). The style is certainly northern, and may be tentatively placed at Bukhara.

Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

- 967. Fol. 26*a*. 3.9 × 3 in. Shāpūr before Khusraw, the latter seated on a carpet in a simple landscape. The miniature has been slightly smudged, and the necks of the figures, as elsewhere in the manuscript, have been lightly scored through. This, we may presume, was the action of a pious, but not fanatical, owner of the manuscript, who thereby salved his conscience by registering a mild protest against the representation of the human figure, without completely ruining the miniatures by erasing the faces completely (as so often happened).
- 968. Fol. 37*b*. 4 × 3 in. Khusraw kneeling before Shīrīn, who is attended by a lady-in-waiting. On the horizon is a groom leading a horse. The head-dress of the women consists of a plain narrow white circlet tied at the back. *Plate XXIV*.
- 969. Fol. 49*a*. 3.9 × 3 in. Farhād before Shīrīn in a landscape. The sky has been slightly smudged.
- 970. Fol. 61*b*. 3.9 × 3 in. Shīrīn visiting Farhād at Mount Behistun. No sculpture is represented on the rock. In this and the previous miniature Farhād is depicted as clean-shaven—a very unusual feature. *Plate XXIV*.

971. Fol. 90a. 3.9 × 3 in. The murder of Khusraw as he sleeps with Shīrīn. The dome and parapet of the palace appear in the upper margin above a panel of text. The miniature is rather smudged in the middle.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 63)]

NAWĀ'Ī: *SAB' A SAYYĀRA*

MS. Elliot 318 (Ethé 2119). Foll. 71. 13 × 8.5 in. Painted lacquer binding probably of eighteenth-century date, with floral design. Dated 960/1553. Copied 'at Bukhara' by Sultān Mas'ūd *al-kātib* b. Sultān Maḥmūd. The name of the patron for whom the manuscript was made is incorporated (preceded by the formula *bi-rasm i kitābkhāna i* and various titles) into the architectural detail of 6 of the miniatures. In Nos. 975, 977, 978, and 980 it is given in the form Abū'l-faṭḥ Yār Muḥammad Bahādur Khān, and in Nos. 976 and 979 with Sultān instead of Khān. The fine illuminated heading on fol. 1b has suffered from damp, and most of the blue is lost.

This and the following manuscript are companion volumes, and the miniatures they contain are excellent and typical examples of the Bukhara style of the time. There are 11 in the present volume, particulars of which are as follows:

972. Fol. 14a. 8.1 × 4.9 in. Bahrām Gūr holding outdoor court, and being shown the portrait of one of the Seven Princesses by a grey-beard.
973. Fol. 18a. 8 × 5.2 in. Bahrām Gūr hunting with his mistress. The head of the latter's horse and the attendant holding it, together with the ground adjacent, have been very clumsily repainted, probably to repair a smudge.
974. Fol. 23b. 6.8 × 5 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Indian Princess in the Black Pavilion. This and the preceding folio are replacements, and the miniature has been supplied by a not very skilful eighteenth-century hand, with shaded faces, clumsy hands, and carefully graded blue sky; nevertheless some attempt seems to have been made to reproduce sixteenth-century designs on carpets and tile-work.
975. Fol. 30a. 8.2 × 5.2 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Chinese Princess in the Sandal-wood Pavilion. The King wears a short coat, which is most unusual at this period, though fashionable in Persia in the seventeenth century.

976. Fol. 34*b*. 7.2×5 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Tartar Princess in the Green Pavilion.
977. Fol. 40*b*. 8.2×5.3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Russian Princess in the Red Pavilion.
978. Fol. 47*a*. 8.4×5.3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess of Khwarazm in the Blue Pavilion. The date 960/1553 occurs in an inscription on the tile-work. *Plate XXII*.
979. Fol. 52*b*. 7.7×5.3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Moorish Princess in the Yellow Pavilion. The date again appears above the archway of the Pavilion.
980. Fol. 57*b*. 8.5×5.2 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Greek Princess in the White Pavilion.
981. Fol. 64*a*. 8.5×4.9 in. Bahrām Gūr under a canopy by a large plane-tree being entertained by a female musician.
982. Fol. 66*a*. 9×5.2 in. Bahrām Gūr on his fatal hunting-expedition being engulfed with all his entourage in the bog.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 66)]

NAWĀ'Ī: ŠADD I ISKANDAR

MS. Elliot 340 (Ethé 2121). Foll. 101. 12.8×7.8 in. Oriental leather binding (probably later) with sunk gilt medallions. Fol. 1*b* of both this and the preceding manuscript are decorated with fancy drawings in gold of various fabulous creatures. Both manuscripts are of the same date, and the work of the same copyist. In the present volume the illuminated heading on fol. 1*b* is undamaged and, as usual in Bukhara manuscripts, of superb quality in the Herat manner of half a century earlier.

Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

983. Fol. 17*b*. 6.7×5.2 in. A beggar before Iskandar, enthroned with his court.
984. Fol. 32*a*. 7.5×5.1 in. Iskandar comforting the dying Dārā. This is an effective miniature, with the armed figures strongly recalling some of the works of Bihzād; the silver paint has spread in several places. *Plate XXIII*.
985. Fol. 52*a*. 8.7×5.3 in. A kneeling warrior, attended by a sword-bearer, confronted by a troop of armed horsemen. (On fol. 65, which is a replacement, a blank space is left for a miniature.)

986. Fol. 80a. 7.7×5.2 in. The building of Iskandar's Rampart against the people of Gog and Magog. This is a copy of No. 615, and is reproduced by *Pallès*, pl. 4.

987. Fol. 92a. 7.6×5.2 in. The mourning for Iskandar.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 67)]

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Whinfield 12 (Beeston 2619). Foll. 150. 10.7×6.8 in. Binding, modern European. There are no illuminations, but the margins are all decorated with various stencil designs.

The manuscript contains 5 miniature paintings in the style of Bukhara, probably dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. They are of fair quality and typical of their style and period. Particulars are as follows:

988. Fol. 57b. 7.8×4.4 in. Yūsuf drawn up from the well, with the members of a halted caravan and their animals disposed about the central incident.

989. Fol. 61a. 7.7×4.4 in. Yūsuf stripping off his clothes by the river Nile, upon which is a sailing-boat full of men.

990. Fol. 63b. 7.6×4.4 in. Yūsuf sold as a slave in a courtyard overlooked by a high building.

991. Fol. 97b. 9.5×4.6 in. Zulaykhā accusing Yūsuf to her husband. The scene is laid in a courtyard; Yūsuf stands with his clothes pulled down off one shoulder before a cradle containing a child. This miniature seems to be by a different artist with rather more individuality. It is the only one in the manuscript whose margins are decorated with freely drawn designs of animals, birds, and trees, the remainder having the coarse stencilled patterns with cut-out medallions inlaid, which are found in many Bukhara manuscripts.

992. Fol. 103a. 7.3×4.2 in. Zulaykhā's maids, overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf, cutting their fingers with their fruit-knives.

ALBUM

MS. Laud Or. 149 (Ethé 1900). 15.2×10 in. Among the Indian Rāg and Rāginī illustrations and pages of calligraphy which this album contains, there is only one Persian work, on fol. 6a (numbered 5).

993. It measures 5.4×3.4 in., and represents a bearded man seated and clasping his knees. His eyes are closed, and he wears a pained expression. His red cap is shaped like an inverted mushroom, and is bound round with a white scarf. The colour and drawing are mediocre, and the style suggests Bukhara, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

JĀMĪ; YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Elliot 418 (Ethé 910). Foll. 64. 11.8×7.8 in. European binding. There is a fine illuminated heading on fol. 1a, which demonstrates that, as in painting, so in illumination, the artists of Bukhara clung tenaciously to the traditions of fifteenth-century Herat, though with a tendency to incorporate coloured medallions into the design. The text is dated 1004/1595 by the copyist Badr i Munir b. Maḥmūd of Bukhara.

The miniatures of this and the following manuscript show to what a degree of sterile formalism the Bukhara school of painting had descended by the closing years of the sixteenth century. The backgrounds are reduced to three formulas, (i) various tile designs, mostly hexagonal, and used indiscriminately on ground and buildings, (ii) spirals, and (iii) completely formalized tufts of vegetation geometrically disposed. The rocky horizons rise in a series of triangular peaks with thickened outlines, not unlike those found in manuscripts of the early fourteenth century illustrated in the Injū style (cf. *BWG*, pls. xv B and xvi A). The figures follow the Bukhara traditions of the earlier part of the sixteenth century, but the drawing has weakened considerably. The arabesque designs on clothes, tents, &c., are rendered with exquisite precision, and may indeed have been left to the hand of the illuminator himself. Particulars are as follows:

994. Fol. 12a. 3.1×5.4 in. Zulaykhā sitting out of doors with her maids. The head-dresses of the women are white head-cloths with gold frontlets, as found in manuscripts of the early sixteenth-century Tabriz style (e.g. the New York Nizāmī of 1525. *Martin NSP*).
995. Fol. 13b. 4.8×5.4 in. Yūsuf tempted by Zulaykhā. The scene is set out of doors, and all three background formulas are used. *Gray PP*, pl. 13.
996. Fol. 17b. 6.9×5.4 in. Zulaykhā travelling in a palanquin, carried between two horses each led by a young man whom the artist has forgotten to provide with feet. *Plate XXV*.
997. Fol. 20b. 5.2×4.2 in. Zulaykhā seated with her husband. She wears a gold crown with a backward-projecting 'tail' common in Safawid manuscripts.

998. Fol. 24*b*. 5.1 × 5.5 in. Zulaykhā bathing.
999. Fol. 27*b*. 4.8 × 5.5 in. Yūsuf riding past Zulaykhā, who sits before a wattle hut.
1000. Fol. 33*a*. 4.7 × 5.5 in. Yūsuf and Zulaykhā with her maids in a fenced garden.
1001. Fol. 36*b*. 3.7 × 5.5 in. Zulaykhā threatening suicide.
1002. Fol. 37*b*. 4.7 × 5.5 in. Zulaykhā wooing Yūsuf in the chamber decorated with representations of their embraces.
1003. Fol. 42*b*. 6.3 × 5.4 in. Zulaykhā's maids, overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf, cutting their fingers with their fruit-knives as he enters their mistress's presence.
1004. Fol. 47*a*. 4.2 × 5.5 in. Zulaykhā on the roof of one building looking down on Yūsuf praying in another.
1005. Fol. 56*a*. 5.7 × 5.4 in. Yūsuf wedded to Zulaykhā, seated in a small building in a fenced courtyard. *Plate XXV*.
1006. Fol. 59*a*. 5.2 × 5.4 in. The funeral of Yūsuf.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 724A)

Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 68)]

JĀMĪ: SILSILAT AL-DHĀHAB

MS. Elliot 337 (Ethé 928). Foll. 106. 11.8 × 7.6 in. European binding. This manuscript is a companion volume to the preceding, which it resembles in all respects, and was written by the same copyist, Badr i Munīr b. Maḥmūd of Bukhara, in the following year, 1005/1596. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

1007. Fol. 67*b*. 3.7 × 5.4 in. A princess enthroned with maids in attendance.
1008. Fol. 78*a*. 4.1 × 5.4 in. The love-story of the Musulman youth and the infidel girl; he is shown catching her by the sleeve across a stream.
1009. Fol. 79*a*. 4.1 × 5.4 in. A young prince enthroned.
1010. Fol. 83*a*. 4.7 × 5.4 in. Plan of the Ka'ba and its precincts.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- Early 16th c. HĀTIFĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS. M.3.30 (*Catalogue*, no. 1587). 6 miniatures. Unpublished.
- Early 16th c. HĀTIFĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1449. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 926/1520. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXXVIII. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 929/1523. 'AṣṣĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Ibrāhīm Khalīl 'at Bukhara'. *BWG*, pls. LXXIX, LXXX.
- 931/1524. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Paris, Vever Collection. 2 miniatures. Copyist, 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī. *BWG*, pl. LXXXIA.
- 935/1529. JĀMĪ: *Ṣubḥat al-Abrār*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXXIX. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-kātib al-Sulṭānī. Unpublished.
- c. 1530. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, Morley 251. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 18. *VAM Neg.*, J. 464.
- 944/1537. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXXX. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-kātib al-Sulṭānī 'at Bukhara'. Unpublished.
- 944/1537-8. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 24-1948. 2 miniatures. Copyist, 'Ishā al-kātib. Unpublished.
- 944/1538. HĀTIFĪ: *Haft Manẓar*. Washington, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXXXI. 4 miniatures with two attributions to Shaykhzāda. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-kātib 'at Bukhara'. Unpublished.
- 947/1540. NAWĀ'Ī: *Khamṣa*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, A/8. 6 miniatures, almost entirely repainted by Mughal court artists, but one dated 947. Text written by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, and dated 897/1492. Unpublished.
- c. 1540. *Anthology*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXXXII. 2 miniatures, with an attribution to Shaykhzāda. Writing attributed to Sulṭān 'Alī. Unpublished.
- 949/1543. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection, LA 177. 16 (8 double-page) miniatures, the last signed Maḥmūd. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī, for Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz Bahādur Khān. Unpublished.
- 950-4/1543-7. JĀMĪ: *Four Mathnawīs*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 213. 9 miniatures. Copyists, Mīr Ḥusayn al-kātib al-Khāqānī al-Ḥusaynī, Muḥammad 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Munajjim al-Khāqānī 'at Bukhara', and Khwāja Jān 'at Bukhara'. Unpublished.
- 952/1545. NIZĀMĪ: *Makhzan al-Asrār*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 985. 3 miniatures (2 double-page), with attributions to Muḥammad and Maḥmūd; the faces appear to have been repainted by Mughal court artists. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī

- al-Harawī 'at Bukhara'. *Bloch et E*, pls. LII, LIIIa. *Bloch et MP*, pls. CXI, CXIV, CXV.
- 955/1548. JĀMĪ: *Tuhfat al-Ahrār*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 215. 3 miniatures, one dated 955. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī, the text being dated 915/1509. *BWG*, pl. LXXXI B.
- 956/1549. Mī'rāj Nāma. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxxxiv. 2 double-page miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. SHĀHĪ: *Ghazals*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1960. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, the text being dated 920/1514. *Bloch et E*, pl. XLVI.
- c. 1550. JĀMĪ: *Tuhfat al-Ahrār*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1416. 2 double-page miniatures, with attribution to Maḥmūd. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, the text being dated 905/1499. *Bloch et MP*, pls. CVII, CVIII, *Sakisian*, fig. 128.
- c. 1550. SHĀHĪ: *Divān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 257. 2 miniatures. Copyist, 'Imād al-Ḥusaynī (c. 1600). Unpublished.
- c. 1550. 'UMAR KHAYYĀM: *Rubā'īyyāt*. Patna, Ashraf Collection. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī al-kātib, the text being dated 911/1505. *Illustrated London News*, May 10, Aug. 16, 1930.
- c. 1550. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.134.2. *Robinson MMA*, pl. 15.
- c. 1550. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, cxxxv. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, the text being dated 898/1493. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 18. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī. (the text dated 930/1524). *Pi Joan*, vol. XII, fig. 506.
- 960/1553. NAWĀ'Ī: *Lisān al-Tayr*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. turc. 996. 6 miniatures. *Bloch et E*, pls. LV, LVI. *Bloch et MP*, pls. CXII, CXIII.
- 961/1554. SA'DĪ: *Gulistān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1958. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-Mashhadī, the text being dated 950/1543. *Bloch et E*, pls. LIII, LIV. *Bloch et MP*, pl. CX.
- 963/1556. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1187. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. *Bloch et E*, pls. LVII, LVIII. *Bloch et MP*, pls. CXVI, CXVII.
- 966/1558. JĀMĪ: *Tuhfat al-Ahrār*. Paris, Vever Collection. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Bābā Mīrak al-Tashkandī. *BWG*, pl. LXXVIII A.
- c. 1560. SA'DĪ: *Būstān* (extracts). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 257. 1 double-page miniature. Copyist, Mīr Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. *Bloch et E*, pl. LIX.
- c. 1560. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāmā*. London, British Museum, Add. 22703. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.

- 971/1563. JĀMĪ: *Diwān*. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXLIV. 1 miniature, with signature of Maḥmūd the illuminator (*mudhahhib*). Unpublished.
- c. 1565. JĀMĪ: *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 238. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1565. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 129 Add. Copyist, Muḥammad Qāsim al-Harawī, called 'Adīmī, the text being dated 930/1524 'at Herat'. Unpublished.
- c. 1565. MUḤSINĪ: *Akhḷāq*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLI. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Khalīl b. Ṭāhir b. Khalīl, the text being dated 937/1531. Unpublished.
- 972/1565. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXLVII. 8 miniatures (one dated 971). Copyist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bukhārī. Unpublished.
- 972/1565. JĀMĪ: *Ṣubḥat al-Abrār*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXLIX. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Maḥmūd b. Ishāq al-Shihābī al-Harawī. Unpublished.
- 973/1566. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CL. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān Bāyazīd b. Mīr Nizām. Unpublished.
- 974/1567. SĀ'DĪ: *Gulistān*. London, British Museum, Or. 5302. 13 miniatures, of which 7 are by Mughal artists; of the remainder, 4 are signed by Shaḥm *mudhahhib*, 2 of them bearing inscriptions on buildings to Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī *al-kātib* al-Sulṭānī, 'at Bukhara'. *Bloch et MP*, pl. cxviii.
- 98(0)/1572. JĀMĪ: *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 239. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr Ḥusayn, called Mīr Kulangī. Unpublished.
- 987/1579. *Anthology*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 45. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1007/1599. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 1342. 7 miniatures, considerably repainted in India. *Arnold PI*, pl. xxxi.
- 1008/1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 873. 25 miniatures. Copyist, Ādīna of Bukhara. Unpublished.

THE QAZWIN STYLE

Historical background

- 1548. Safawid capital moved to Qazwin.
- 1576. Death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp: accession of Ismā'īl II. Murder of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and other princes.
- 1577. Ismā'īl succeeded by Muḥammad Khudābanda.
- 1582. 'Abbās proclaimed king at Nishapur.
- 1585. Qazwin taken by Shāh 'Abbās.
- 1598. Safawid capital moved from Qazwin to Isfahan.

Development and characteristics of the style

The city of Qazwin, which Shah Ṭahmāsp made his capital for the latter part of his long reign, provides us with a convenient designation for the court style during the second half of the sixteenth century. Sakisian (p. 131) has written: 'Il ne peut dans tous les cas pas être question d'une école de Kazvin et on ne connaît aucun manuscrit à miniatures daté de cette ville.' There are, however, in the Kevorkian Foundation, a fine *Anthology* dated 982/1575, containing a double-page frontispiece of excellent quality in precisely the style one would expect of the court artists of this period, and a copy of Mīrkwānd of 988/1580, both executed 'at Qazwin'. As it happens, apart from the Khurasan group mentioned below, this period seems particularly barren of manuscripts whose colophons contain statements of their place of origin, and in any case (as with the 'Tabriz Style'—see above, p. 81) the appellation 'Qazwin Style' is not intended necessarily to suggest that any given work was actually produced in that city, but merely designates the metropolitan style during the period when Qazwin was the capital. Nevertheless, there seems no reason to doubt that a proportion of the best manuscripts of this time was actually executed there.

The most instructive document for the modifications which the court style underwent during the third quarter of the sixteenth century is undoubtedly the magnificent Jāmī manuscript executed in Khurasan for Prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. The various sections of the manuscript were written by different scribes, who have dated their work between 963/1556 and 972/1565, and while the majority of the twenty-eight miniatures show little stylistic deviation from those of the British Museum Niẓāmī of 1539-43, some of those in the later

sections of the manuscript have begun to exhibit the features of the style under discussion.

These features include, in the figures of young people of both sexes, an increased attenuation of the body, a growing emphasis on sinuous lines and graceful poses, rounder faces, longer necks, and larger eyes; and, in the depicting of middle-aged and elderly persons, a striking realism sometimes verging on caricature. A dark stippled green is a favourite method of rendering the ground. The ruled border or frame is regarded even less than heretofore as a boundary to the miniature, and in one painting in the Freer Gallery manuscript it is dispensed with altogether.

By about 1575 this style is associated with the artist Muḥammadi, son of Sultān Muḥammad. Apart from the description of him as a native of Herat on a copy of one of his works by Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī in the British Museum,¹ nothing is known of his life and career, but his outstanding ability makes it more than probable that he worked at the court. It may be, indeed, that in the 'progressive' miniatures of the Freer Jāmī we have some of his earliest work, and that he was forming his style about 1560, under the enlightened patronage of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, in his native Khurasan.

A well-defined group of manuscripts and detached miniatures of this period, of which MS. Ouseley Add. 137 is a typical example, exhibit a variation of the Qazwin style. The drawing is usually good, crisp, and firm, and in the best examples similar in style to that of Muḥammadi himself, but the miniatures are marked by a general simplification and an extreme economy of detail in the rendering of buildings, landscape, and accessories. Grass-tufts are omitted altogether, rocks on the horizon are represented by simple shading, often of bubble-like form, and light olive-green and pale blue are the favourite ground colours. Several manuscripts of this group are dated from Bakharz (between Nishapur and Herat) and one from Herat itself, so the attribution of the group to Khurasan seems reasonable (see p. 151, *Manuscripts for Comparison*).

¹ The well-known 'Youth reading': *Bloch MP*, pl. CLIV.

KITĀB I DĀSTĀN

MS. Ouseley Add. 1 (Ethé 459). Foll. 171. 12.2 × 7.5 in. Modern binding of inferior quality. Dated 25 Sha'bān 972/28 March 1565. The manuscript has suffered badly from damp, especially at the beginning; the illuminated double title-page has lost most of its colour, but was formerly a work of very high quality, and still conveys an impression of sumptuousness (foll. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is preceded by two illuminated rosaces on foll. 2*b* and 3*a*, also affected by damp and partly obscured by a repair to the page. There is also an illuminated heading to each of the four stories of which the manuscript consists, viz. *The Story of Piltan and Pilkan* (fol. 4*b*), *The Story of Fīrūz Shāh* (fol. 69*b*), *The Story of Khusrawān Rashk* (fol. 84*b*), and *The Story of the Daughter of Sa'lūk King of Zanzibar* (fol. 114*b*), all more or less spoiled by damp.

The manuscript contains 10 miniatures, including a double-page frontispiece, all of which, and especially the latter, have suffered from damp. However, their quality is high, and they are excellent examples of the Qazwin style in its early stages. Particulars are as follows:

- 1011*a*, b.** Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. Each half 7.5 × 4.4 in. This double-page frontispiece of an outdoor court-scene has not only suffered very badly from the damp, but the faces have all been repainted in a very crude and unskilful manner. As usual in compositions of this type, the Prince is shown on the right-hand page, attended by courtiers, grooms, cooks, musicians, and others.
- 1012.** Fol. 6*a*. 5.7 × 4.5 in. A wrestling-match between a young man and a girl (Piltan and Pilkan) on a carpet under an awning, watched by female attendants and musicians. It may be noted that the women's head-dresses have not yet developed the backward projection characteristic of the 70's and 80's, and that the jewelled aigrette is worn by two of them. *Plate XXVI*.
- 1013.** Fol. 18*a*. 5.9 × 5.9 in. A young prince entertained by a girl in a tent outside a castle. The prince's turban is of exactly the shape of those wound round batons in the earlier part of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, but the baton itself has disappeared, being replaced by a *kulāh* of truncated conical shape. *Plate XXVI*.
- 1014.** Fol. 52*a*. 5.6 × 5.7 in. Single combat between two armies. The hero has lifted his adversary from the saddle by his belt, while the latter's piebald horse canters away in the foreground. The drawing of the horses is noticeably fine, and the miniature had great vigour; but it has suffered considerable damage and some repainting.

- 1015.** Fol. 79*a*. 6 × 6.2 in. Fīrūz Shāh and another young man consulting a sage in the latter's house; in the courtyard are three attendants on the prince. Damaged and repainted in parts.
- 1016.** Fol. 91*b*. 5.8 × 5.8 in. A princess attended by two maids entering a room in which two seated men are being entertained by three female musicians. Damaged and repainted.
- 1017.** Fol. 106*a*. 5.6 × 3.7 in. A youth drinking wine with a young witch on a large throne structure from underneath which peeps another man. Damaged and repainted.
- 1018.** Fol. 124*a*. 6 × 4.9 in. A victory of 'Alī over the King of Zanzibar, whose general he is represented as killing in single combat. In this miniature, damaged and repainted like the rest, the exaggerated slimness of some of the figures is noticeable.
- 1019.** Fol. 143*a*. 4.4 × 4.9 in. Discomfiture of the army of the King of Zanzibar by 'Alī and his followers using fire-balls. Damaged and repainted.
- 1020.** Fol. 168*a*. 9 × 5 in. 'Alī and his companions seated in a mosque receiving Zulaykhā daughter of the King of Zanzibar, into the faith of Islam. A fine and dignified miniature which has suffered less than most of the others from damp and subsequent repainting.

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Greaves 1 (Ethé 908). Foll. 154. 9.8 × 6 in. Outside binding of dark green lacquer finely painted in gold and colours with designs of animals (including two kylins fighting), birds, trees, flowers, and clouds; doublures of leather with medallions of cut-out work in gold on blue and green. This binding is probably contemporary with the manuscript, which was completed in Rabī' II, 977/September–October 1569. There is a double illuminated title-page, of fine quality but slightly damaged, on foll. 3*b* and 4*a*.

The manuscript contains 6 miniatures (including one double-page), no two of which seem to be by the same artist, but they may well be all contemporary with the manuscript, and give a good idea of the variations in the metropolitan style current at this period, which was one of transition from the earlier court style of Shah Ṭahmāsp to the later style associated with the name of Muḥammadi. Particulars are as follows:

- 1021*a, b***. Foll. 1*b*, 2*a*. (each half) 7 × 4.6 in. A princely picnic. The execution is sure, careful, and competent, with fine stippling on

the grass and the fur caps of some of the figures, and the colouring is strong. The style is that later developed by Muḥammadī. It may be noted that foll. 2*b* and 3*a* are blank, so this miniature may be a later insertion. *Gray PP*, pl. 11.

- 1022.** Fol. 34*b*. 5.2 × 3.5 in. The interpretation of Zulaykhā's dream. She sits enthroned with three attendant maids, while a greybeard stands before her. In the background is a garden behind a black railing. The style of this miniature, whose execution is not quite up to the standard of the double-page frontispiece, is closer to the earlier work of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's court artists.
- 1023.** Fol. 95*b*. 5.2 × 4.1 in. Zulaykhā threatening suicide, restrained by Yūsuf. The central group is strongly but delicately drawn and superbly coloured, against a rather elaborate architectural background. The style is the contemporary court style of Qazwin, and this is certainly the finest miniature in the manuscript. *Plate XXVII*.
- 1024.** Fol. 104*a*. 7.5 × 4.7 in. Zulaykhā's maids overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf. This is another not wholly successful miniature recalling the court style of a quarter of a century earlier.
- 1025.** Fol. 123*a*. 5.8 × 4.3 in. Yūsuf enthroned with Zulaykhā's husband. This fine miniature is in the same style as No. 1023, but not so strong in either drawing or colour. *Plate XXVII*.
- 1026.** Fol. 140*b*. 7 × 4.8 in. An angel descending upon Yūsuf. The figures are rather large, but some animals on the rocks in the background are very finely rendered. The style of this miniature seems to foreshadow that of about thirty years later; nevertheless it is in all probability contemporary with the manuscript. *Plate XXVIII*.

Note. The margins of the pages throughout this beautiful volume are decorated with floral designs in gold and light colour. Those round Nos. 1023 and 1025 are the same as those on the pages of text, but those round the other miniatures are rather different. On fol. 1*a* is a seal with the date 1007/1599.

[Exhibited: Burlington House, 1931 (*London 1931*, no. 144A)

Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 77)]

NIZĀMĪ: *LAYLĀ WA MAẖNŪN*

MS. Ouseley Add. 137 (Ethé 605). Foll. 153. 10.3 × 6.6 in. Binding, red velvet (modern, but perhaps oriental). Dated 981/1573, but the copyist's name is missing from the colophon. The manuscript has been remargined throughout with stiff gold-sprinkled paper of various colours. Foll. 1*b*

and 2a are finely illuminated in the conservative style that characterizes Khurasan manuscripts of this period.

There are 9 miniatures, in good condition for the most part, but slight discoloration and flaking have taken place here and there. Their style is typical of the group of Khurasan manuscripts dating from between about 1560 and 1590 (see below, p. 151), in which background details of the miniatures are reduced to a minimum, olive-green, pale blue, and a sort of orange are the prevailing colours, and, in particular, the rocky horizon is rendered by a series of ridges of bubble-like form. Particulars are as follows:

- 1027. Fol. 31b. 6×4 in. Laylā and her maids in a garden while Majnūn beckons to her from the horizon.
- 1028. Fol. 44b. 5.1×4 in. Majnūn visited in the desert by three elders of Laylā's tribe, to whom he makes obeisance. He is accompanied by several animals.
- 1029. Fol. 59a. 5.5×4.2 in. The battle of the tribes. A fine vigorous miniature. *VAM Neg.*, K. 654. *Plate XXIX*.
- 1030. Fol. 68a. 4.4×4.2 in. Majnūn offers his clothes to free a deer which has been snared by a young man. He is accompanied by the animals as usual. *Plate XXIX*.
- 1031. Fol. 75a. 6×4.3 in. The betrothal feast of Laylā and Ibn Salām, held out of doors under a double awning. Some slight discoloration.
- 1032. Fol. 89b. 3.9×4 in. Majnūn among the wild beasts. Rather badly discoloured.
- 1033. Fol. 105a. 4.7×4.2 in. Majnūn among the animals visited by Salīm. Slight discoloration.
- 1034. Fol. 132b. 4.5×4.2 in. Laylā and Majnūn fainting. The faces of both the principal figures are damaged by flaking.
- 1035. Fol. 149b. 5×4.2 in. The death of Majnūn on the tomb of Laylā, accompanied by the animals. There are three men on the horizon, one of whom is throwing a stone.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum 1951/2. (*Robinson LE*, no. 80)]

A L B U M

MS. Ouseley Add. 173 (Ethé 1897). This album contains a series of portraits of the Mughal Emperors, all of Indian workmanship except the first, which purports to be a picture of Tīmūr.

1036. It measures 8.1×6.8 in., and is, in fact, an excellent example of the favourite 'Turkman Prisoner' theme, being a slightly less elaborate version of the celebrated drawing formerly in the collection of M. Koechlin and bequeathed by him to the Louvre in 1931 (*Stchoukine L*, no. XXIII; *Martin*, II. 83; *Meisterwerke*, 25; *Marteau & Vever*, II. CXLI; *Sakisian*, fig. 97). An exactly similar figure, though fully coloured and probably by a Mughal artist, is in the Clive Album, belonging to the Earl of Powis.

Until comparatively recent years all these 'Turkman Prisoner' drawings were dated to the late fifteenth century and in many cases attributed to Bihzād. To Stchoukine belongs the credit of correcting this persistent error (see especially *Stchoukine MT*, pp. 83-86); but it may be thought that he has gone a little too far in placing the Louvre version in the seventeenth century. The drawing of the latter and of the present Bodleian figure that so closely resembles it appears to belong rather to the Qazwin style and the years about 1575; the lines of seventeenth-century drawings are generally much more calligraphic than this, and the form of the neatly tied turban can be paralleled many times in the works of Muḥammadi and his contemporaries. The identity of the person depicted remains a mystery, though 'Māhū Khān', 'Kawsaj Murād', and other names are found attached to various versions of the subject. *Plate XXI*.

This Bodleian drawing has been reproduced on a very small scale by Coomaraswamy in an article on 'Mughal Portraiture' in *Orientalisches Archiv*, III, pl. 1, fig. 1 (1912). *VAM Neg.*, K. 648.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 28)]

FARID AL-DĪN 'AṬṬĀR: *INTIKHĀB I ḤADĪQA*

MS. Canonici Or. 122 (Ethé 2405). Foll. 60. 12.5×7.8 in. European leather binding and box of the eighteenth century. Undated; copyist, 'Alī *al-kātib* al-Sulṭānī 'the illuminator'. The text itself is unillustrated, but the margins are lavishly decorated with stencil designs in colours and gold, and there is a splendid illuminated heading on fol. 6b.

The manuscript contains 7 miniatures, two of them double-page compositions, of which four precede the text and three, together with a drawing in gold, follow it. The last one is signed by Kamāl of Tabriz, and the remainder appear to be the work of two other artists of unequal ability, the better of whom (called 'A' in the list below) has much common with Muḥammadi and the Khurasan group. Kamāl was a pupil of Mīrzā 'Alī,

and seems to have flourished about 1575, which is the approximate date of these miniatures; other works by him and references in the Turkish historian 'Āli are quoted by Sakisian (pp. 124, 125). Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

- 1037.** Fol. 4a. 6.2×3.8 in. A rather inferior version of a popular subject in the Safawid period: a young man on his knees offering a cup of wine to a girl and catching at the tail of her dress while she looks back at him. Other versions are reproduced in *Kühnel IM*, pl. 67, and *Bloch et E*, pl. XLVib. Artist B.
- 1038a, b.** Foll. 4b, 5a. Each half 8.3×4.8 in. A royal picnic. The prince sits under a pavilion on the right-hand page, with courtiers and musicians. On the left-hand page are three cooks preparing the meal, a major-domo, and a groom with a led horse under an awning. Wood-cutters in the background. Artist A. *Plate XXX*.
- 1039.** Fol. 5b. 6.3×3.7 in. One youth offering another a cup of wine. The two figures are lightly tinted, but the background has been filled in with strong colours—a blue sky and ground of gold and green. Artist A.
- 1040.** Fol. 6a. 5.8×3.5 . A young man seated on a gold chair examining a portrait. The figure is painted in full colour, and the background is as in the previous miniature. This is a version of the 'Youth reading' of which there are two well-known representations in the British Museum, one a copy by Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī after Muḥammadī (*Bloch et MP*, pl. CLIV) and the other an early Mughal work said to be a portrait of Bābur as a young man (*ibid.*, pl. CIX). Artist A.
- 1041.** Fol. 58b. 6.2×3.6 in. Drawing in gold of a lion and a mountain-sheep with another of the latter on the horizon.
- 1042.** Fol. 59a. 6×8.5 in. Lightly tinted drawing of one of the exploits of Rustam—perhaps intended for his victory over Pilsam. The hero has spitted his adversary on his lance and lifts him from the saddle. Artist A. *Plate XXXI*.
- 1043a, b.** Foll. 59b, 60a. Each half 8.8×5.6 in. A royal picnic: as in No. 1038, the prince occupies the right-hand page, whilst on the left the preparation of a meal is going forward, but there any resemblance between the two miniatures ceases. In this instance, both pages are uncomfortably crowded with figures (there are no less than fifty-seven altogether), and both drawing and execution leave much to be desired. Artist B.

- 1044.** Fol. 60b. 7.3 × 4.7 in. A young prince seated with a falcon perched on his gloved hand. Signed '*Work of Kamāl of Tabriz.*' This is an excellent clear-cut miniature of brilliant colouring. *Plate XXXII.*

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 38)]

AMĪR KHUSRAW: *KHAMSĀ*

MS. Elliot 189 (Ethé 768). For particulars of this manuscript, which is dated 867/1463 'at Shīrāz', see above, p. 83.

- 1045.** Fol. 192a. 7.3 × 4.4 in. Ladies preparing a picnic. This charming and crowded miniature is a fine example of the mature Qazwin style associated with the name of Muḥammadī, and the drawing, colour, and composition are worthy of the master; it probably dates from about 1575. The figures are grouped round a large tree, and the more active of them are engaged in cooking in a cauldron, with one of them vigorously blowing the fire, rolling pastry, and talking to an old beggar-woman. All the young women are exquisitely graceful and willowy; they wear the becoming head-dress of the period with its backward projection, and several of them have tucked up their skirts to reveal richly embroidered petticoats and trousers. They are attended by a black eunuch, and a small boy is also of the party. The ground is stippled dark green, with cypresses and flowering shrubs as well as the large central tree. The gold sky has been overpainted with blue at the top of the miniature. *Plate XXXIII.*

NIẒĀMĪ: *KHAMSĀ*

MS. Ouseley 316 (Ethé 589). Foll. 384. 11.8 × 7.5 in. Modern European binding of red leather. This manuscript is apparently the work of two famous copyists, Bābāshāh of Isfahan (fol. 32a) and Mīr 'Alī (fol. 384a). If the latter be Mīr 'Alī of Herat, he died in 1550 (*BWG*, p. 106); but Bābāshāh's work belongs to the later sixteenth century.

There is a fine illuminated double title-page (foll. 1b, 2a), and illuminated headings in which gold predominates on foll. 33b (*Khusraw u Shīrīn*), 119b (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), 178b (*Haft Paikar*), 246b (*Iskandar Nāma*), and 336b (*Khīrad Nāma*).

The manuscript contains 4 miniatures of the highest quality in a style characterized by firm drawing and strong colour. They are very similar to those in a manuscript of the *Haft Paikar*, also copied by Bābāshāh, and

dated 979/1572, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. 18-1948), and are probably of much the same date. Particulars are as follows:

- 1046. Fol. 57a. 6.5 × 4.5 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn, dismounted, conversing in the hunting-field. The stippled green foreground and the large plants are characteristic of the style. The miniature is unfortunately rather smudged.
- 1047. Fol. 81b. 6.2 × 4.5 in. Shīrīn visiting Farhād's milk-conduit at Behistun. The sculpture represents a princess offering a cup of wine to a prince; both figures are standing. *Frontispiece*.
- 1048. Fol. 199b. 6.6 × 4.5 in. Bahrām Gūr on the roof of a building confronted by his discarded mistress who has carried the cow upstairs on her shoulders. Cf. the treatment of the same subject in the Fitzwilliam manuscript mentioned above (fol. 67b). *VAM Neg.*, K. 638. *Plate XXXVIII*.
- 1049. Fol. 276b. 5.4 × 4.5 in. Battle between Iskandar and Dārā. This is a fine and vigorous piece of work. One of the combatants is wearing a mail cap apparently slipped over his turban. *Plate XXXVIII*.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 79)]

HĀTIFĪ: *TĪMŪR NĀMA*

MS. Elliot 403 (Ethé 1006). Foll. 202. 9.2 × 5 in. Binding white calf with gold stamped inlay; red leather doublures with similar inlay. As it stands, the date in the colophon reads 934/1528, but it is clear that it has been tampered with; a digit which seems to have been an 8 has been erased between the 9 and the 3, and the 4 has then been added at the end. The original date, then, was probably 983/1575, which is not only in complete accord with the style of the miniatures, but also with the period of activity of the copyist, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was also responsible for MS. Elliot 186 (p. 166) dated 970-3/1563-5.¹

There is a delicate illuminated heading on fol. 1b.

Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

¹ The earlier manuscript being illustrated in a provincial style, and the present one in the metropolitan style associated with the period when Qazwin was the Safawid capital, it might be assumed that Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn started his scribal career in the provinces, but during the ten years spanned by the dates of these MSS. had increased his reputation so as to be employed by patrons in closer touch with the court. An alternative hypothesis is that the earlier MS., having been copied at Qazwin, was purchased *without* illustrations by a provincial patron who got it illustrated by a local artist. The latter may well be correct, as a MS. in the Kevorkian Foundation (*Robinson*, CLVII), copied by him and dated 971-2/1564-5, is illustrated in the metropolitan style.

- 1050.** Fol. 24*a*. 6.8×4.2 in. Tīmūr enthroned at Balkh. The miniature is somewhat discoloured and damaged.
- 1051.** Fol. 48*a*. 7×4.3 in. Tīmūr consulting a wise man about his campaign in Khurasan. This miniature is rather worse damaged than the last, and has also suffered from repainting. A figure in the upper margin has been erased with such violence as to leave a hole in the paper.
- 1052.** Fol. 74*b*. 5.8×4.3 in. Tīmūr's hunting expedition near Shiraz. In spite of a certain amount of damage and blackening at the outer edge, this is perhaps the best miniature in the manuscript.
- 1053.** Fol. 87*a*. 6.5×4.5 in. The defeat of Tuqtamish Khān by Tīmūr. The miniature is much blackened along the edge.
- 1054.** Fol. 120*b*. 7.2×5 in. Tīmūr enthroned. Again there is blackening along the outer edge, but apart from this damage is slight and the miniature is nearer its pristine condition than the others. The elegance of the figure drawing is thus more noticeable.
- 1055.** Fol. 139*a*. 6.4×4.3 in. Tīmūr's defeat of Mālū Khān on his way to the invasion of India. Damage and blackening as usual.
- 1056.** Fol. 159*b*. 5.6×4.4 in. The defeat of the Wali of Aleppo by Tīmūr. The condition is similar to the preceding.

ḤĀFIZ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Elliot 163 (Ethé 828). Foll. 138. 9×5.5 in. Modern European binding of yellow leather. Copyist, Quṭb al-Dīn *al-kātib*. Dated, Rabī' II 1001/January 1593. Good illuminated headings (northern style) on foll. 1*b* and 3*b*. The 4 miniatures in this manuscript are of excellent quality; the drawing is bold and natural, without the artificial posing which one might expect at this date, and the colours rich and pure. They are very similar in style to those in a *Būstān* in the Kevorkian Collection (*Robinson*, CLXIV), one of which is signed Tarābīsī(?) Beg Khurāsānī. The figures are on a smaller scale than usual at this time, and the whole effect is reminiscent of Herat work of a century earlier. Particulars are as follows:

- 1057.** Fol. 2*b*. 2.8×3.1 in. Two youths in a landscape: one, his turban awry, is holding a book, while the other offers him a cup of wine. This charming little miniature fills up the page at the end of the Preface. *VAM Neg.*, K. 665.

1058. Fol. 11*b*. 8×4.2 in. A learned discussion on a terrace, with landscape background. Slightly damaged and discoloured. *Plate XXXIV*.
1059. Fol. 55*b*. 6.7×4.4 in. Ḥāfiẓ and his youthful companions: an interior scene, with fine tilework. Slightly flaked and discoloured. *Plate XXXV*.
1060. Fol. 88*b*. 7.6×4.6 in. Two young men seated in a pavilion overlooking a terrace in a garden. Other young men are grouped around with food, wine and music. This miniature is rather more discoloured than the others, but the execution is perhaps even finer.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 85)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 957/1550. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 23. Copyist, Muḥammad Amīn b. 'Abdallāh. 4 miniatures. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1047.
- 958/1551. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 221. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī. 6 outline drawings for miniatures attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad. *BWG*, pl. CVIII A.
- 960/1553. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 224. 1 miniature. Unpublished.
- c. 1550-60. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. London, British Museum, Or. 4535. 26 miniatures, the last one signed Sayyid Shams al-Dīn, in a highly individual style. *Bloch et MP*, pl. CXXXVI. *Arnold ONT*, pl. x.
- 963-72/1556-65. JĀMĪ: *Haft Awrang*. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 46.12. Copyists, Malik al-Daylamī 'at Mashhad', Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī 'at Mashhad', عیسی بن عسری, Rustam 'Alī, Muḥibb 'Alī. 28 miniatures. *American Art Association*, New York: Achilleto Chiesa Sale (16-17 April 1926) Catalogue.
- c. 1560. QAZWĪNĪ: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 241. Numerous miniatures. Unpublished.
- 969/1562. HILĀLĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 907. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad al-kātib. Unpublished.
- 971-2/1564-5. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson* CLVII. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Unpublished.
- c. 1565. NĪSHĀPŪRĪ: *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 231. 26 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 972/1565. 'ĀRIFĪ: *Gūy u Charegān*. Copenhagen, C. L. David Collection. 16 miniatures. Copyist, Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī. Unpublished.
- 973/1565. NIZĀMĪ: *Iskandar Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLIX. 2 miniatures. Copyist, 'Aṭā'allāh Abū'l-Karīm al-Ḥijāzī. Unpublished.
- 974/1566. QAZWĪNĪ: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Cambridge, University Library, Nn.3.74. 153 miniatures. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 22. *VAM Neg.*, K. 651, L. 1084.
- 975-6/1567-8. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 581. 15 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 976/1569. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLX. 19 miniatures. Copyist, 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Unpublished.
- 977/1569. JĀMĪ: *Silsilat al-Dhahab*. Tehran, Imperial Library. 14 miniatures. Copyist, Bābāshāh Iṣfahānī. Unpublished.
- c. 1570. GHAZĀLĪ: *Naqsh i Badī'*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXI. 1 miniature. Copyist, Bābāshāh. Unpublished.
- 979/1572. NIZĀMĪ: *Haft Paikar*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 18-1948. 13 miniatures (of which 4, inserted at the beginning and end, do not belong to the manuscript). Copyist, Bābāshāh al-Iṣfahānī. *Sotheby*, 19 July 1938, Lot 27.

- 982/1575. *Anthology*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXII. 1 double-page miniature. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī 'at Qazwin'. Unpublished.
- 983/1575. BANNĀ'Ī: *Diwān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 243. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Rūḥallah. Unpublished.
- c. 1575. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXIII. 10 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 985/1577. *Anthology*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXVIII. 3 miniatures (2 of which are unfinished). Unpublished.
- 985/1577. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Germany, Private Collection. 4 double-page miniatures and 1 single. Copyist, Khalīl b. Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Jāmī. Unpublished.
- c. 1575-80. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXVII. 9 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 331. 12 miniatures. *Giusalini & Diakonov*, pls. 24-26.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXI. 20 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma* (incomplete). New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXII. 22 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. QĀSIMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 1437. 46 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 988/1580. MĪRKHWĀND: *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXIX. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Nizām b. 'Alī Dilmānī 'at Qazwin'. Unpublished.
- 989/1581. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXC. 4 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 991/1583. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXCI. 30 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 994/1586. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāma*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 699-1876. 4 miniatures (including 1 double-page). Unpublished.
- 994/1586. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 27302. 52 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1590. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, A/5. 88 miniatures in both the Qazwin and Shiraz styles. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, p. 179, no. VIII.
- c. 1590. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXIV. 3 miniatures, one signed by Tarābīsī(?) Beg Khurāsānī.¹ Copyist, 'Alī al-Tabrīzī with the fictitious date 779/1377 and dedication to Tīmūr. *Sotheby*, 5 Feb. 1935, Lot 22.

¹ A *Khamṣa* of Amīr Khusrāw in Princeton University Library (*Hitti* 14), dated at Herat, 930/1524, contains one miniature signed 'Turābī Bey Khurāsānī', which may well be a variant reading of the same signature. If so, it is presumably a later insertion.

- 1004/1596. *Miscellany*. London, British Museum, Add. 7776. 36 miniatures, some unfinished. Copyist, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Lāhijī. Unpublished.
- 1005/1597. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CXCH. 72 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. ḤAFĪZ: *Diwān*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, A/3. 1 miniature. Copyist, Shāh Qāsim al-kātib al-Harawī. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 27257. 51 miniatures. British Museum, *postcards*.

KHURASAN GROUP

- 970/1563. JĀMĪ: *Silsilat al-Dhahab*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLVI. 2 miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī. Unpublished.
- 973-4/1565-6. JĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 547. 13 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. 'Alā al-Dīn 'in the district of Bakharz'. Unpublished.
- c. 1560-70. QĀSIMĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 359-1885. 5 miniatures. Copyist, Mullā Mīr Bākharzī. Unpublished.
- 978/1570. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 561. 10 miniatures, a few retouched in India. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī 'at Malan in the district of Bākharz'. *Arnold ONT*, pl. ix (where it is wrongly dated 878/1474).
- 978-9/1571-2. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamṣa*. Cambridge, King's College Library, Pote Collection 153. 4 miniatures, with attributions to Farrukh Beg, called Nādir al-'Aṣrī. Unpublished.
- 979-80/1572. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Khamṣa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1149. 13 miniatures. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmud Nīshāpūrī 'in the district of Bakharz'. Unpublished.
- 981/1573. SANĀ'Ī: *Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaqīqa*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 09.324. Unpublished.
- 983/1575. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Duwalrānī Khidr Khān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXIV. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1575. JĀMĪ: *Salāmān u Absāl*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXV. 4 miniatures. *Sotheby*, 5 Feb. 1935, Lot 23.
- c. 1575. HĀTIFĪ: *Shirīn u Khusrāw*. London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, *Morley* 244. 5 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1575. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXVI. 5 miniatures, the figures repainted in Qājār style. Unpublished.
- c. 1575. JĀMĪ: *Three Mathnawīs*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 209, 210. Numerous marginal paintings. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. HILĀLĪ: *Ṣifāt al-'Ashiqīn*. London, *Robinson Collection*. 4 miniatures. *VAM Neg.*, L. 1030-2.

- c. 1580. HĀTIFĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXVII. 3 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 137 Add. 59 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Ma'sūm b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Harawī. Unpublished.
- c. 1580. JĀMĪ: *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*. London, Messrs. Maggs Brothers (1956). 6 miniatures. Maggs Bros. Ltd., *Printing, Illustration, Binding and Illumination* (Catalogue No. 830), no. 494, pl. XXXVII (reproduced in reverse!).
- 988/1581. JĀMĪ: *Haft Awrang*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXV. 27 miniatures, of which 3 are unfinished. Unpublished.
- 99(0)/1582. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXVI. 4 miniatures. Copied 'at Herat'. Unpublished.
- 10(0)/1594. NIẒĀMĪ: *Iskandar Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CLXXXVII. 7 miniatures. Unpublished.

THE ISFAHAN STYLE

Historical background

1598. Capital established at Isfahan by Shāh 'Abbās.

1629. Shāh Ṣafī.

1642. Shāh 'Abbās II.

1666. Shāh Sulaymān (Ṣafī II).

1694. Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn.

1722. Isfahan taken by the Ghilzai Afghans.

Development and characteristics of the style

In Persian painting, as in the painting of other countries, major changes in the national style were often due to individual genius. We have seen how this happened in the cases of Bihzād and Muḥammadī, and now, at the end of the sixteenth century, it seems to have been another artist of outstanding talent and originality who brought into being the style which altered the whole character of Persian painting.

This artist was Āqā Riḍā.¹ Round him and his more prolific successor Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī a long controversy has raged between those on the one hand who regarded all work bearing the name of Riḍā in any form as the product of one artist, and their opponents on the other, who saw in this mass of material the hands not only of Āqā Riḍā and Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, but of several other shadowy bearers of similar names. It is now, however, generally admitted that there were two major artists: Āqā Riḍā, son of Mawlānā Asghar of Kashan, whose work covers approximately the period 1585–1600, and who, as reported by Iskandar Munshī, had given up painting but was still alive in 1616 (*Sakisian*, pp. 126 f.; *BWG*, p. 159); and Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, whose earliest dated works are perhaps two drawings of 1011/1603 (in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad) and 1019/1610 (in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Marlay Bequest; *Robinson VAM*, fig. 30), and who died, according to a note on a posthumous portrait by his pupil Mu'in, in 1635 (*BWG*, p. 158). Neither artist is represented in the present collection.

Āqā Riḍā launched the new style by the adoption of a boldly calligraphic line, varying considerably in thickness, and thus effectively suggesting volume. In so doing he was developing a tendency which is observable in some earlier Safawid drawings such as the beautiful angel in the style of

¹ For an excellent account of Āqā Riḍā and his surviving works, see *Schroeder*, pp. 116 ff.

Sultān Muḥammad, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Coomaraswamy*, pl. xxvii, fig. 50), but he carried it much farther than his predecessors. In his hands the proportions of the human figure alter considerably from the type popularized by Muḥammadi. The body and limbs fill out; the faces become rounder and fuller, often with a discreet indication of a double-chin, though they are always exquisitely drawn; and the attitudes become rather languid.

This style of drawing was taken over by Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, and the Hermitage and Fitzwilliam drawings already referred to as probably his earliest surviving works are still close to some of those of Āqā Riḍā. But his own original contribution to the style was in colour. Fully coloured miniatures by Āqā Riḍā are still dominated by the old pure colours, but in the paintings of Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī we find a preponderance of purples, browns, and yellows which, though found from time to time in earlier work, were never combined with such emphasis. In his work, too, the languid postures of the figures are so persistent and affected that they become quickly tedious, and the faces (always of the greatest delicacy and refinement in the work of Āqā Riḍā) grow stereotyped and rather coarse. However, although Āqā Riḍā inaugurated the new style, it was Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī who moulded it into what it remained almost throughout the seventeenth century, and in his paintings and drawings is to be found the main inspiration of the works that follow.

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley 297 (Ethé 1891). Foll. 12. 12.2 × 9.8 in.

- 1061.** No. 1. 5.5 × 4.6 in. A girl semi-reclining with a tambourine, wearing a short vermilion coat over a long green dress under which appear a purple under-garment and striped embroidered trousers. The head-dress, a kerchief with the points almost vertical, suggests a date about 1600 or shortly before. This is a painting of good quality, though not of the first class.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 125)]

- 1062.** No. 12. 5 × 3.1 in. 'Sultān Sanjar' on horseback, with a young woman holding his rein. The labelling of the principal figure was presumably due to a fancied resemblance of the composition to 'The old woman petitioning Sultān Sanjar'—the subject of the first miniature in so many copies of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*. But this lady is young and pretty, and the mounted figure may well be a portrait of some Safawid prince. The painting is of fine quality, but is somewhat damaged. It probably dates from about 1620.

(Both these miniatures are inscribed on the back '*Isfahan, Oct. 1811*', recording their acquisition by Sir William Ouseley. Other paintings from this album, belonging to the Qājār period, are noted under Nos. **1216–24**.)

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley Add. 174 (Ethé 1898)

- 1063.** The only Persian work contained in this album is on fol. 6a. It is a lightly tinted drawing, measuring 7.5 × 4.6 in., in the style associated with Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, and may be dated to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. It bears the signature of a certain Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Khānī, of whom no record or other work seems to have survived, but whose skill is of a high standard for the period.

The drawing represents a young woman dancing with a scarf before a young man, who kneels before her with his left hand on her knee under her skirt. Both faces are fully painted, but the remainder of the composition is in outline only. *Plate XXXVI* (for the figure of the girl, cf. *BWG*, pl. CXI A).

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 138)]

NIZĀMĪ: *KHAMSĀ*

MS. Ouseley 317 (Ethé 592). Foll. 317. 10.5 × 6.3 in. European binding. Dated 1056/1646, by the scribe Sulṭān Muḥammad Tāybādī. The illuminations in this manuscript are of not very high quality, with inferior colouring; they consist of double title-pages on foll. 1*b*, 2*a* (*Makhzan al-Asrār*), 31*b*, 32*a* (*Khusraw u Shirin*), 105*b*, 106*a* (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), and gold marginal designs on foll. 165*b*, 166*a* (*Iskandar Nāma*), and 255*b*, 256*a* (*Haft Paikar*). Fol. 147*b* is left blank.

The manuscript contains 8 miniatures in a style founded on that of Ridā-i 'Abbāsī, with all the characteristic details of the late Safawid decadence—the 'Ganymed boyes', the downy side-whiskers and 'Shāh 'Abbās' moustaches, the fan-shaped caps either made of or trimmed with fur, and the willowy postures, especially one with both hands resting on the girdle to exhibit the waist. They do not, however, approach the standard of work produced by such men as Afḍal al-Ḥusaynī and Muḥammad Qāsim at this time. Particulars are as follows:

- 1064.** Fol. 37*b*. 3.5 × 4 in. The poet Nizāmī with disciples.
- 1065.** Fol. 41*a*. 4.3 × 4 in. Wise men interpreting his dreams to Khusraw.
- 1066.** Fol. 42*b*. 3.6 × 4 in. The portrait of Khusraw shown to Shīrīn.
- 1067.** Fol. 42*b*. 7.3 × 4 in. Khusraw seated drinking with Shakar ('Sugar'), the beauty of Isfahan, while musicians and dancers perform for them. The colour-scheme is mainly blue, black, and green.
- 1068.** Fol. 278*b*. 5.9 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Indian Princess in the Black Pavilion. *Plate XXVIII.*
- 1069.** Fol. 285*a*. 5.2 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Yellow Pavilion.
- 1070.** Fol. 288*a*. 5.9 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Green Pavilion.
- 1071.** Fol. 295*a*. 7.3 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Red Pavilion. This is perhaps the best miniature in the manuscript; there is a landscape background, and trees and the dome appear in the upper margin.

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley Add. 171 (Ethé 1894).

- 1072.** The only Persian work in this album (now separately mounted) is a tinted drawing of very fine quality representing the visit of

Salīm to Majnūn in the desert (fol. 1*b*). It measures 6.9×3.8 in., and is surrounded by a border inscribed with verses. Majnūn sits under a feathery tree of the tamarisk variety, Salīm before him, while in the background is an old woman spinning in front of a black tent, and a young wood-cutter carrying a faggot on his back. The date is probably about 1650. *Plate XXXVII.*

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 141)]

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley 297 (Ethé 1891).

- 1073.** No. 11 in this album, measuring 8.3×5.3 in., is a miniature representing a court-scene with musicians. The effect is not pleasing, and the general style and form of the turbans suggest a debased version of the manner of Muḥammad Zamān. The date is probably about 1700. Inscribed, *Isfahan, Oct. 1811.*

HĀFIZ: DIWĀN

MS. Pers. e. 53 (Beeston 2604). Foll. 156 (numbered in Persian as *pages* not folios). 7×4.5 in. Dated Ramaḍān 1129/November–December 1717 on the lacquered and painted binding, which also contains a biography of the poet.

Foll. 2*b*, 3*a*, 3*b*, and 4*a* are richly and meticulously illuminated; all the miniatures have finely illuminated borders; and the text is profusely ornamented throughout.

The manuscript contains 10 miniature paintings in a minute style directly descended from that of Riḍā-i ‘Abbāsī and, although of necessity somewhat decadent and effeminate in atmosphere, their small scale and meticulous execution produces a pleasantly delicate and jewel-like effect. Particulars are as follows:

- 1074.** Fol. 16*a* (p. 29). 3.6×2.8 in. A prince and princess feasting on a terrace with attendants and musicians.
- 1075.** Fol. 32*a* (p. 61). 3.3×2.8 in. A princess feasting under an awning with maids and young men in attendance.
- 1076.** Fol. 48*a* (p. 93). 2.9×2.8 in. A learned man in discussion with six youths, one of them a prince, in a rocky landscape.
- 1077.** Fol. 63*b* (p. 124). 4×2.8 in. A prince and princess drinking on a terrace with attendants and musicians.

- 1078.** Fol. 79*b* (p. 156). 3.2×2.8 in. A bearded man seated with a youth on a carpet in a landscape, surrounded by young people of both sexes.
- 1079.** Fol. 95*b* (p. 188). 3.2×2.8 in. On a terrace a young man reclining on cushions of gold brocade is offered an apple by his mistress, while other young people stand round.
- 1080.** Fol. 103*b* (p. 204). 2.9×2.8 in. A party of young people drinking on a terrace.
- 1081.** Fol. 111*b*. (p. 220). 3.2×2.8 in. A party of five girls and two young men on a terrace.
- 1082.** Fol. 128*a* (p. 253). 4×2.8 in. A discussion on a terrace between two learned men, each attended by two youths.
- 1083.** Fol. 143*b* (p. 284). 3.2×2.8 in. A greybeard presiding over a gathering of two girls and five young men in a landscape.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 121)]

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- c. 1590. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma* (fragmentary). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 277. 16 miniatures, of which 4 are probably by Āqā Riḍā, and 2 by Muḥammad Zamān (one dated 1086/1675). Illumination signed by Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Tabrizī. *Survey*, v. 925A (Muḥammad Zamān).
- c. 1590. HILĀLĪ: *Ṣifāt al-'Āshiqīn*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 237. 1 double-page miniature. Unpublished.
- c. 1590. NISHĀPŪRĪ: *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1313. 20 miniatures, of which 12 are probably by Āqā Riḍā (one signed). *Bloch et E*, pls. LXVII, LXVIII. *Bloch et MP*, pls. CXXX-CXXXIII. *Bloch et P*, 30-32. *Arnold ONT*, pls. VI, XI.
- c. 1590-1600. *Medical Aphorisms*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1967. 1 double-page miniature. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nishāpūrī, the text being dated 949/1542. *Bloch et E*, pl. LXI. *Bloch et MP*, pl. CXXIX.
- 1007/1599. 'AṬṬĀR: *Nuzhat Nāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 255. Copyist, al-Jāmī b. Muḥammad Qāsim Muḥammad Mu'min 'at Qum'. Unpublished.
- 1008/1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCVI. 103 miniatures, a few of the Qājār period. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-kātib Iṣfahānī, called Jānī. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Qirān al-Sa'dain*. London, British Museum, Add. 7753. 4 miniatures. Copyist, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān 'at Herat', the text being dated 921/1515. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. MIRKHWĀND: *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1567. 44 miniatures. *Arnold ONT*, pls. VIII, XV.
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma* (extracts). Cambridge, King's College Library, Pote Collection 135. 2 drawings in the style of Āqā Riḍā. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. HILĀLĪ: *Shāh u Gadā*. Stockholm, National Museum. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī Shāhī, the text being dated 946/1539. *Martin*, II, pls. 141-3. *Arnold KD*, *passim*.
- 1011/1602. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCVIII. 62 miniatures. Copyist, 'Alījān b. Ḥaydar 'Alī al-Harawī. Unpublished.
- 1011/1603. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Lund, University Library. 31 miniatures. Copyist, Murād b. 'Alī al-kātib al-Shīrūdī (or, al-Sīrūdī). *Oriental Miniatures* (National-museum, Stockholm, 1957), pl. 7.
- 1012/1604. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 876. 63 miniatures. India Office Library, *postcards*.
- 1014/1605. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 974. 10 miniatures. Unpublished.

- 1014-16/1605-7. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jackson & Yohannan, 3. 85 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad b. Mullā Mir al-Ḥusayni al-Ustādi. *Piḡoan*, vol. XII, fig. 498. Pavry, opp. pp. 10, 14, 24, 28, 32, 62, 80.
- 1022/1613. JĀMĪ: *Ṣubḥat al-Abrār*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, Robinson, CCXXII. Copyist, illuminator, and artist, 'Alī Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī 'at Sari (Mazandaran). *Ars Is.*, IV, pp. 282 ff., figs. 1-9.
- 1023/1614. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, British Museum, Add. 16761. 40 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1029/1620. QAZWINI: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 2. Numerous miniatures. Copyist, Riḍā son of Khwāja 'Abd Muḥammad دژنوی (?). Unpublished.
- c. 1620. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1980. 8 miniatures. Blochet E, pls. LXXXVI, LXXXVII. Blochet MP, pls. CLXI, CLXII.
- c. 1620. AMĪR KHUSRAW: *Qirān al-Sa'dain*. Paris, Gulbenkian Collection, LA 187. 3 miniatures signed by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad *muṣawwir*. Copyist, Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr (text dated 921/1515). Binding signed by Muḥammad Sāliḥ of Tabriz. Sotheby, 4 June 1920, Lot 65, pl. IV.
- 1033/1624. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 1029. 35 miniatures by Haydar Qulī (two signed). Copyist, 'Abd al-Jabbār. Blochet E, pls. LXXXVIII-XC. Blochet MP, CLXIII-CLXVI. Blochet P, 38-43.
- c. 1625. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 65. 75 miniatures. Giusalian & Diakonov, pls. 32-34.
- 1035/1626. ANWARĪ: *Diwān*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 514. 2 double-page miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Dār al-Mazārī. Blochet E, pl. XCII.
- 1037/1628. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 35. 2 double-page miniatures. Copyist, Mīr 'Alī 'at Shiraz'. Unpublished.
- 1038/1629. 'URFĪ: *Kulliyāt*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 908. 2 double-page miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn. Unpublished.
- c. 1630. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, Ethé 868. 28 miniatures. Robinson VAM, figs. 27, 28. India Office Library, postcards.
- 1041/1631. QAZWINI: *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 3. Numerous miniatures. Copyist Shamsā. *J. Ryl. Bull.*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, opp. p. 79.
- 1042/1632. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khusraw u Shirin*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 364-1885. 18 miniatures signed by Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, one dated 1042. Copyist, 'Abd al-Jabbār, the text being dated 1091/1680, presumably in error for 1041/1631. Binding signed Muḥammad Muḥsin Tabrizī. Arnold & Grohmann, pls. 71-74. Gray PP, pl. 15. *Burl. Mag.*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 59 ff.
- 1042/1633. NIẒĀMĪ: *Khamsa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, Robinson, CCLXXIV. 27 miniatures. Unpublished.

- 1054/1644. DIOSCORIDES: *Materia Medica*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 273. Numerous miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1058/1648. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, A/6. 148 miniatures, including a double-page frontispiece signed by Malik Ḥusayn Isfahānī, and a number apparently by Muḥammad Qāsim. Copyist, Muḥammad Ḥakīm al-Ḥusaynī, for Khān 'Alīshān Qarajaghāi Khān. *Robinson VAM*, fig. 1. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, pp. 180 f., nos. x, xi.
- Mid 17th c. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, D. 377. 143 miniatures. (Colophon dated 1138/1726 by Muḥammad Qulī b. Muḥammad Mu'allam.) *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pl. 49.
- c. 1650. NAW'I: *Sūz u Gudāz*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. pers. 769. 5 miniatures attributed to Shafī 'Abbāsī. Calligraphy attributed to Abū Turāb. *Bloch E*, pls. xciii, xciv. *Bloch P*, 44.
- c. 1650. NAW'I: *Sūz u Gudāz*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 268. 10 miniatures perhaps by Muḥammad Qāsim. Unpublished.
- c. 1650. NAW'I: *Sūz u Gudāz*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 272. 12 miniatures. Copyist, 'Abd al-Rashīd. Unpublished.
- c. 1650. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library, 381. Miniatures by Ridā-i Muṣawwir. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pls. 46-48.
- c. 1650. ḤAFIZ: *Dīwān*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 161 Add. 500 lightly tinted drawings, some of them probably by Muḥammad Qāsim and Muḥammad Yūsuf. Unpublished.
- c. 1650. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 691-1876. 44 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1052-61/1642-51. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 333. 192 miniatures by Ridā-i Muṣawwir, Pīr Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiz, and Afḍal al-Ḥusaynī. Copyist Shafī b. 'Abd al-Jabbār. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pls. 35-45.
- 1066/1656. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 270. 21 miniatures by Mu'in Muṣawwir, the last one dated 1066. *Survey*, V. 922, 923.
- 1067/1657. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS. M.2.1 (*Catalogue* no. 1549). 37 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1076/1665. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. London, British Museum, Add. 6613. 41 miniatures, with signature of Ṭalīb. Copyist, Ibn Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Mu'akhhkhar al-Mu'allim al-kātib al-Shīrāzī. *Arnold PI*, pls. xxviii, lvia.
- 1104/1693. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jackson & Yohannan*, 4. 42 miniatures, several dated 1104, and bearing signatures of Mu'in Muṣawwir, Āqā Nūyān, and 'Alī Naqī (the last two using an Italianizing style). Copyist, Ibn Shams al-dīn Shaykh Muḥammad. *Robinson MMA*, pls. 23, 24. *Jackson & Yohannan*, opp. p. 39. *Pavry*, frontispiece and opp. p. 40.

PROVINCIAL STYLES

There were infinitely fewer deviations from the metropolitan style in the Safawid period than during the preceding century, due to the unification of the country under the national dynasty. We have seen that the Shiraz artists maintained their independence until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but otherwise examples of 'provincial' work are rare. They are also, as a rule, of markedly inferior quality, and may be supposed to have been produced in outlying or isolated towns of little importance, by painters whose skill was not sufficient to earn them a living in one of the larger cities.

The scarcity of examples makes accurate dating and placing almost impossible, and their generally poor quality has caused them to be almost wholly passed over by writers on the subject. Sometimes an apparent affinity with Shiraz work may incline one provisionally to assign a given example to south-western Persia; or perhaps a flavour of the Isfahan style may justify a tentative seventeenth-century dating. But on the whole the subject of Safawid provincial painting remains, and seems likely to remain, obscure and unrewarding.

HĀFIZ: *DĪWĀN*

MS. Ouseley 20 (Ethé 819). For particulars of this manuscript, which is dated 956/1549, see above, p. 94.

The following five miniatures, which have been inserted in the manuscript, are crudely executed works of provincial style and uncertain provenance. They may date from the first half of the sixteenth century.

1084. Fol. 11*a*. 4.5 × 3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Indian Princess in the Black Pavilion.

1085. Fol. 11*b*. 4.4 × 3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Tartar Princess in the Green Pavilion.

1086. Fol. 51*a*. 4 × 3 in. The ascent of the Prophet into Heaven (*mi'rāj*).

1087. Fol. 59*a*. 3.6 × 3 in. A princess riding out of a palace; to the left, a man in a fire.

1088. Fol. 59*b*. 3.6 × 3 in. Two men visiting Majnūn in the desert.

HĀTIFĪ: *HAFT MANẒAR*

MS. Elliot 161 (Ethé 1016). Foll. 92. 8.4 × 5 in. European binding. The manuscript was copied by Shāh Muḥammad Nīshāpūrī, and is dated 946/1540. There is a delicate illuminated heading on fol. 1*b*. The 8 miniatures are clearly provincial work, and probably northern rather than southern; the execution is painstaking, but not very competent, and the colours, in particular the blue, are not good. The women's head-dresses are of an unusual type, consisting of a white cloth covering the head and hanging down behind to the level of the shoulders; this is held in place by a band passing round the forehead and tied behind, from which (or perhaps from the top of the head) hangs a sort of yoke of transparent veiling. Particulars are as follows:

1089. Fol. 12*a*. 5.3 × 4 in. A hunting expedition of Bahrām Gūr, in which both men and women are taking part.

1090. Fol. 17*a*. 6.5 × 3.6 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Black Pavilion on Saturday.

1091. Fol. 28*a*. 6.7 × 3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Red Pavilion on Sunday.

1092. Fol. 44*a*. 6.9 × 3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Green Pavilion on Monday.

1093. Fol. 58*a*. 6.8 × 3.7 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Blue Pavilion on Tuesday.
1094. Fol. 68*a*. 6.3 × 3.9 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Sandalwood Pavilion on Wednesday.
1095. Fol. 77*a*. 5.3 × 4.3 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Yellowwood Pavilion on Thursday. The artist has here varied the usual composition for these subjects by putting the Princess and Bahrām on the balcony of a building to the right of the miniature.
1096. Fol. 84*b*. 5.7 × 4.6 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the White Pavilion on Friday. The composition is similar to that of the previous miniature, except that the building and balcony are on the opposite side. They overlook an enclosed garden with red fencing and a delicate gateway.

QĀSIMĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

MS. Elliot 328 (Ethé 515). Foll. 137. 9.3 × 5.8 in. Binding, lacquer with floral design; similar doublures. The manuscript contains no date or copyist's name, but judging from the miniatures and illuminations it may be dated to about 1540. The latter are of good quality, but somewhat defaced, and consist of a circular medallion on fol. 1*a* and a heading on fol. 1*b*.

The miniatures, on the contrary, of which there are 11, are characterized by bad drawing and colours, and are for the most part in bad condition; a noticeable feature is the placing of the eyebrows ridiculously high above the eyes. They must have been produced at some provincial centre, perhaps in northern Persia. Particulars are as follows:

1097. Fol. 35*a*. 4.8 × 2.9 in. Shāh Ismā'il defeating the King of Shirwān, whom he is represented as cleaving asunder.
1098. Fol. 53*a*. 5.2 × 2.9 in. A victory of Shāh Ismā'il in 'Irāq 'Ajamī. In both this and the preceding miniature the combatants are arranged in two horizontal rows across the battlefield, with a further row of them on the horizon.
1099. Fol. 60*a*. 4.7 × 2.9 in. Persian troops driving back a sally from a besieged fort.
1100. Fol. 73*b*. 4.7 × 2.9 in. Two Persian envoys at the court of the Khāqān.
1101. Fol. 80*a*. 4.8 × 2.9 in. Shāh Ismā'il defeating the Khāqān. All the faces have been obliterated.

- 1102.** Fol. 85*b*. 5.2 × 2.9 in. The court festivities on the victorious return of Shāh Ismā'il. The faces again obliterated.
- 1103.** Fol. 88*b*. 5.1 × 4 in. Shāh Ismā'il's troops escalading the fortress of Firuzkuh, which he observes from his throne. This miniature is very badly damaged.
- 1104.** Fol. 91*a*. 5.7 × 4.5 in. The execution of the defenders after the fall of the fortress of Firuzkuh; one has been spitted and is being roasted over a fire, whilst another is suspended in a cage. This miniature is also very badly damaged.
- 1105.** Fol. 103*a*. 4.9 × 2.9 in. Shāh Ismā'il holding outdoor court. Damaged.
- 1106.** Fol. 115*a*. 5.2 × 2.8 in. Shāh Ismā'il investing a fortress during his campaign against Muḥammad Shaybānī in Khurasan.
- 1107.** Fol. 121*a*. 4.9 × 2.9 in. Battle between Shāh Ismā'il and Muḥammad Shaybānī.

JĀMĪ: YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ

MS. Elliot 415 (Ethé 919). Foll. 151. 7.5 × 4.8 in. Binding, lacquer with floral design; similar doublures. The manuscript is undated, and there is no copyist's name, but from the style of the miniatures it may be assigned to about the middle of the sixteenth century. There is a neat but slightly defaced illuminated heading on fol. 1*b*.

The style of the 3 miniatures is provincial and rather coarse, the figures being too large in proportion to the compositions. They are, however, carefully executed on the whole, and there is some attempt at individualization. Particulars are as follows:

- 1108.** Fol. 43*b*. 4.2 × 2.9 in. Zulaykhā travelling to Egypt in a camel-palanquin, with male and female attendants. The ground is a strong blue.
- 1109.** Fol. 68*a*. 4.3 × 3 in. Yūsuf sold in the slave-market. There is some individualization in the surrounding figures, two of whom wear baton turbans, the batons of which have been partially erased. There is neither sky nor horizon.
- 1110.** Fol. 108*a*. 4.2 × 2.6 in. Zulaykhā's maids overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf. Two of the faces of the former have been erased.

HĀTIFĪ: *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN*

MS. Selden superius 34 (Ethé 999). Foll. 82. 8×5 in. Binding, oriental leather with flap and gold tooling; doublures with gold tooling and blue inlay. There is no date or copyist's name, but the manuscript seems to belong to about the middle of the sixteenth century; it opens with a small illuminated heading of good quality. There are 5 miniatures of small size in a provincial style in which traces of the Turkman style may still be detected; they may therefore, perhaps, be tentatively assigned to some provincial town in the Shiraz orbit. No baton turbans appear in them, so the date is likely to be after 1550 rather than before. Particulars are as follows:

- III1.** Fol. 16*a*. 2.7×2.3 in. Majnūn as a child dancing to the music of a harp and tambourine before two elders.
- III2.** Fol. 33*b*. 3.5×2.3 in. The camp of Laylā's tribe. The face of a man in the foreground has been almost obliterated.
- III3.** Fol. 47*b*. 3.1×2.3 in. The marriage of Laylā and Ibn Salām. They are represented together in an interior observed by a woman at an upper window.
- III4.** Fol. 62*b*. 2.7×2.3 in. The battle of the clans; only two are engaged on either side, with two others on the horizon.
- III5.** Fol. 67*a*. 2.7×2.3 in. Majnūn with his head on Laylā's lap; she has come to visit him in the desert on her camel, which rests on the left of the miniature. Throughout this manuscript the scale of the figures is too large for the small size of the miniatures, a feature that is particularly noticeable in No. **III4**.

JĀMĪ: *KHAMSA*

MS. Elliot 186 (Ethé 900). Foll. 230. 9.2×6 in. European binding. Copyist, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd (cf. MS. Elliot 403). Dated between Dhū'lḥijja 970/August 1563 (fol. 229*a*) and Dhū'lḥijja 972 July 1565. Illuminated rosettes, probably Turkish, on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, and the margins of all pages where illuminated headings occur have been similarly decorated. The headings themselves are of good-quality Persian work and contemporary with the manuscript; they occur as follows: foll. 2*b* (*Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār*), 30*b* (*Subḥat al-Abrār*), 75*b* (*Khīrad Nāma Iskandari*) 112*b* (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), and 169*b* (*Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*).

The manuscript contains 8 miniatures possibly retouched in Turkey, in a rather stiff provincial style, though on the whole carefully executed; a curious idiosyncrasy of the artist is his fondness for little gold stones scattered over the landscape, out of which grow various plants. The women's

head-dresses have already developed the backward projection which is such a characteristic feature in miniatures of the next twenty-five years. Particulars are as follows:

- 1116. Fol. 11a. 4.2×3.9 in. One man kneeling before another in a landscape.
- 1117. Fol. 19b. 3.9×3.9 in. Two ducks carrying between them in their beaks a stick to which clings a tortoise. Five young men seated by a pool are looking on in astonishment. The ground is blue.
- 1118. Fol. 54b. 4.3×3.9 in. A young prince on the roof of a building, and six other men below; one of the latter, a greybeard, has lost his turban, and sits on the ground looking up at the young prince. Gold ground.
- 1119. Fol. 101b. 3.9×3.9 in. Iskandar and an attendant visiting a hermit (Khidr?). The ground is here darkish purple, and there is a mass of rock in the background which is a little reminiscent of the style of Bihzād.
- 1120. Fol. 159a. 4.9×3.9 in. Majnūn visiting Laylā in camp. This is a charming little miniature with the figures on a much smaller scale than in the others.
- 1121. Fol. 200b. 4.9×3.9 in. Yūsuf being entertained by Zulaykhā's maids. The ground is light green.
- 1122. Fol. 206b. 4.5×3.9 in. Yūsuf being led before Zulaykhā.
- 1123. Fol. 209b. 4.9×3.9 in. Zulaykhā's maids overcome by the beauty of Yūsuf. The scene is laid out of doors, with a blue ground.

‘AṢṢĀR: *MIHR U MUSHTARĪ*

MS. Pers. d. 30 (Beeston 2602). Foll. 168. 9.6×5.3 in. Binding, oriental red leather (probably modern). There is a patched and damaged illuminated heading on fol. 1b, and the remains of an illuminated border to what was once a double-page miniature on fol. 168b, but has now been stuck over with a piece of paper.

The manuscript at present contains 7 miniatures in a crude and careless provincial style with some affinities with the late sixteenth-century Shiraz group; they probably date from about 1600. Particulars are as follows:

- 1124. Fol. 11b. 6×3.7 in. Mihr and Mushtarī visiting a hermit.
- 1125. Fol. 72b. 5.8×3.7 in. Mushtarī's battle with the beast-men.
- 1126. Fol. 85b. 6.1×3.7 in. Mihr killing a lion.

1127. Fol. 114a. 6×3.5 in. Mihr killing another lion on a hunting-expedition with King Kaywān in Khwarazm.
1128. Fol. 126a. 6×3.7 in. Defeat of Qara Khān by King Kaywān.
1129. Fol. 146a. 5.7×3.7 in. Mihr wooing Nahīd in a pavilion.
1130. Fol. 154a. 6.3×3.6 in. The entertainment of Mihr by King Shāpūr.

*QIṢṢA I BADĪ' AL-JAMĀL, SA'D U HUMĀYŪN
AND OTHER ROMANCES*

MS. Ouseley Add. 95 (Ethé 461, 1067). Foll. 134. 8.8×5.3 in. Binding, modern oriental cloth. Dated in two places (foll. 64a and 87b) 1019/1610; 'Hājji' is all that can be made of the copyist's name. Small and rather crude illuminated headings occur on foll. 1b, 65b, 88b, 115b, and 122b. There are 27 miniatures in a rough hurried provincial style; the first 16 are full-page and each is backed by a rough tinted drawing, and the remaining 11 are half-page or a little over. Particulars are as follows:

1131. Fol. 9a. 5.2×2.7 in. Court-scene: a king making a present to a prince. Some damage and retouching. Foll. 9b and 10a are decorated with rough sketches of trees, birds, and antelopes.
1132. Fol. 10b. 5.2×2.7 in. Court-scene.
1133. Fol. 16b. 5.2×2.7 in. Figures in a boat, some of them armed, sailing past a hilly landscape. On fol. 16a is a sketch of a stag between two flowering trees.
1134. Fol. 18a. 5.9×2.7 in. Court-scene. On fol. 18b is a damaged sketch of a young man playing a tambourine among flowers.
1135. Fol. 25a. 5.2×2.7 in. Two enthroned figures in a landscape, with apes in the foreground. On fol. 25b is a sketch of a seated woman with a bottle and cup.
1136. Fol. 28b. 5.2×2.7 in. Young man seated under a large tree up which a dragon climbs towards a nest containing two young birds. On fol. 28a is a sketch of a young lion among flowers.
1137. Fol. 32b. 5.1×2.7 in. Four men fighting five demons. On fol. 32a is a sketch of a rabbit under a flowering tree.
1138. Fol. 45a. 5.1×2.7 in. Young man asleep on a houri's lap. On fol. 45b is a damaged sketch of a hawk among flowers.
1139. Fol. 49b. 5.2×2.7 in. Young man enthroned with a houri, and

four other houris in attendance. On fol. 49*a* is a sketch of a dancing dervish.

1140. Fol. 54*a*. 5.2 × 2.6 in. Young man and a houri enthroned with three attendants. On fol. 54*b* is a sketch of a fox before a flowering tree and a cypress upon which a bird is perched.
1141. Fol. 58*b*. 5.2 × 2.7 in. Young man and a houri embracing on a throne. On fol. 58*a* is a sketch of a fox and an antelope among flowers.
1142. Fol. 59*a*. 5.8 × 2.7 in. The houri going to bed with the young man, to the apparent grief of the seven women attendants. On fol. 59*b* is a sketch of a rabbit, and birds on a flowering tree.
1143. Fol. 74*b*. 5.2 × 2.7 in. Seven figures and a small building in a landscape. On fol. 74*a* is a sketch of a lion and a mountain-goat in a rocky landscape.
1144. Fol. 75*a*. 5.2 × 2.7 in. Prince and princess and two others in a landscape. On fol. 75*b* is a sketch of a seated woman reading.
1145. Fol. 76*b*. 5.2 × 2.8 in. Prince and princess seated together. On fol. 76*a* is a sketch of a mountain-goat and an antelope among trees.
1146. Fol. 86*a*. 5.2 × 2.8 in. Couple in bed together; their faces have been erased. On fol. 86*b* is a sketch of a lion and an antelope among trees.
1147. Fol. 90*b*. 2.8 × 2.9 in. Prince addressing a woman on a balcony.
1148. Fol. 92*b*. 2.2 × 3 in. Man in a tent beside water in which fish are swimming.
1149. Fol. 95*b*. 3.2 × 3 in. An enthroned woman and two others in a building.
1150. Fol. 96*a*. 3.6 × 3 in. Hunting-scene.
1151. Fol. 104*b*. 2 × 2.8 in. Seated man between two others.
1152. Fol. 109*a*. 2.7 × 3 in. One wrestler (white) throwing another (black) before two spectators.
1153. Fol. 120*a*. 2.8 × 3 in. A game of draughts.
1154. Fol. 121*b*. 2.8 × 3.1 in. Another game of draughts.

1155. Fol. 122*a*. 2.5×2.9 in. Prince and princess seated with two attendants.
1156. Fol. 126*a*. 3.2×3 in. A woman beckoning a young man into her house.
1157. Fol. 134*b*. 3×2.8 in. A king talking to two youths. Somewhat defaced.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- c. 1525. MUḤAMMAD AL-RŪMĪ: *Rubā'īyyāt*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXX. 3 miniatures and a double-page frontispiece with angels. The text is dated 902/1496. Unpublished.
- 935/1529. NIZĀMĪ: *Khamṣa*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXI. 3 miniatures. Copyist, Sayyidī Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Tabrizī. Unpublished.
- c. 1540. NIZĀMĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXII. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. *Sindbād Nāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 1236. 70 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. *Anwār i Suhayl*. Dunimarle (Fife), Erskine of Torrie Institution. 126 miniatures. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXIII. 7 miniatures. Copyist, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī. Unpublished.
- c. 1550. SA'DĪ: *Būstān*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXIV. 3 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 963/1556. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Tashkent, Uzbekistan Public Library. *Denike*, pl. v.
- 970/1563. JĀMĪ: *Ṣubḥat al-Abrār*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXVI. 9 miniatures. Copyist, Ishāq Muḥammad b. Ishāq Junābadī. Unpublished.
- 972/1565. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma* (in three volumes). London, British Museum, Or. 12084-6. 35 miniatures. Copied 'at Astarabad'. Unpublished.
- Late 16th c. HĀTIFĪ: *Laylā wa Majnūn*. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Pers. MS. 28. 16 miniatures. Copyist, Yūsuf. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé* 874. 39 miniatures. Copyist, 'Alījān b. Ḥaydar Qulī al-Harawī. Unpublished.
- c. 1600. 'AṣṢĀR: *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXVII. 8 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1040/1630. FIRDAWSĪ: *Shāhnāma*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 311. 67 miniatures. Unpublished.
- 1061/1651. HĀTIFĪ: *Timūr Nāma*. New York, Kevorkian Foundation, *Robinson*, CCCXXVIII. 2 miniatures. Unpublished.

PART IV

THE POST-SAFAWID PERIOD

Historical background

- 1722. Iṣfahān taken by the Afghans under Maḥmūd.
- 1725. Maḥmūd succeeded by Ashraf.
- 1730. Defeat of the Afghans by Nādir: death of Ashraf.
- 1736. Nādir Shāh crowned.
- 1739. Invasion of India and sack of Delhi.
- 1747. Murder of Nādir Shāh.
- 1752. Rise of Karīm Khān Zand. Capital at Shiraz.
- 1779. Death of Karīm Khān.
- 1795. Āghā Muḥammad Shāh Qājār. Capital at Tehran.
- 1797. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh.
- 1834. Muḥammad Shāh.
- 1848. Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh: murdered 1896.

Painting in the Post-Safawid Period

It has sometimes been said that the arts thrive on political confusion. This is certainly true of the Timurid period, but the eighteenth century, one of the most politically disturbed in Persian history, was also, in painting at least, perhaps the most artistically sterile and unproductive, and saw the native style swamped under a flood of European ideas and conventions.

European artists are recorded to have worked at Iṣfahān under Shāh 'Abbās the Great (*Sakisian*, pp. 132 f.), and certainly a few European features can be observed in some Safawid paintings from his reign onwards; but the thorough-going European style dates from the visit of the painter Muḥammad Zamān to Italy early in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. How well he learnt his lesson can be seen from the paintings he added in 1675 to two earlier Safawid royal manuscripts, the British Museum Nizāmī of 1539-43 (*Arnold PI*, pl. v) and the Chester Beatty *Shāhnāma* of about 1590 (*Survey*, v. 925A). This alien imported style found immediate favour, and before the end of the century was in fairly general use, though Mu'īn Muṣawwir and a few others still clung to the orthodox Iṣfahān style, as may

be seen in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, *Shāhnāma* which contains miniatures of both types dated 1104/1692 (*Jackson & Yohannan*, 4; *Robinson MMA*, figs. 23, 24).

There is a dearth of material for the study of Persian book-painting between the fall of Iṣfahān in 1722 and the accession of Fath 'Alī Shāh in 1797. What has survived shows, in the best work, a continuation of the Europeanizing technique of Muḥammad Zamān, and in productions of a lower standard a persistence of the Iṣfahān style in various debased forms. Court painting was turning to a great extent from miniatures to murals and large paintings in oils, while ordinary painters seem to have employed themselves on papier-mâché pen-boxes and mirror-cases, rather than on the illustration of manuscripts.

By the beginning of the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh a recognizable national style had evolved from the Italianized work of the late seventeenth century, and under the patronage of that picturesque monarch numerous large court-scenes and portraits, as well as a few genre subjects and still-lives, were painted in oils.¹ Illustrated manuscripts also are once again found in fair numbers, though many have been broken up, and the miniatures are encountered separately.

The oil-paintings often have a dignity and hieratic quality that recall the Achaemenid bas-reliefs,² but their standard, and that of the book-paintings, varies considerably. The best examples display technical skill of a high order and a rather stiff bejewelled magnificence; but it must be admitted that works of really high quality, whether in miniatures or oil-paintings, are in a minority, and that much Qājār painting gives the impression of having been produced 'by the yard'. A representative selection is reproduced by Amiranashvili, *Iranskaya stankovaya jiropes* (Tiflis, 1940).

In the book-illustrations the opaque enamel-like colours of the Timūrid and Safawid periods are no longer in use, having given way to comparatively thin water-colours. Battle-pieces and court-scenes are often made up of a number of stock groups of figures which reappear in different combinations and arrangements throughout the illustrations of such a manuscript as the *Shāhinshāh Nāma* (Elliot 327). This practice was employed to some extent in earlier periods of Persian painting, being particularly noticeable in miniatures of the Shiraz Safawid style; but its excessive use in these Qājār works, together with a tendency to make all the faces look out of the picture at the spectator, cancels the realism aimed at in the European modelling and perspective.

¹ The most representative collections of Qājār oil-paintings are those of the late Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Tiflis Museum, and the Hermitage, Leningrad.

² Fath 'Alī Shāh did, in fact, revive the Achaemenid and Sasanian tradition of rock bas-reliefs (*Pijoan*, XII, figs. 1, 2).

After the death of Fath 'Alī Shāh the oil-paintings declined into such hideous daubs as those reproduced in *Sykes* (i, pp. 514, 534; ii, pp. 4, 66) and the same author's *The Glory of the Shia World* (frontispiece, and pp. 15, 34, 42), but some fine portraits in miniature technique were produced in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of Naṣr al-Dīn's long reign, however, Persian artists had begun the conscious imitation of earlier styles, especially that of the seventeenth century, which they have practised ever since, and among these archaizing miniatures the line between conscientious original work and deliberate forgery is often a very difficult one to draw. These archaistic miniatures are sometimes charming, as in a little manuscript of Khāqānī, dated 1305/1888, in Cambridge University Library (Or. 1694), but are conspicuously lacking in strength and originality. As recently as 1947 an exhibition held in London of works by the foremost living Persian miniaturists contained works of unsurpassed technical skill, but betraying a rather confused approach, hesitating between a too rigid traditionalism and a mood of half-hearted concession to Western ideas (cf. *Studio*, cxxxv, 1948, pp. 78-85).

SA'DĪ: *GULISTĀN*

MS. Ouseley 234 (Ethé 708). Foll. 65. 9.7 × 6.8 in. Modern European binding of red leather. Dated 1155/1742 (this date is incorrectly given by Ethé as 1055/1645) by the scribe Āghā Ḥasan 'Alī *kātib* Shīrāzī. The text begins on fol. 1b with a very poorly executed heading.

The manuscript contains 8 miniatures characterized by bad drawing, poor colours, and rough execution, in a style which faintly recalls that of the Italian-taught Muḥammad Zamān. Particulars are as follows:

- 1158. Fol. 4b. 5.8 × 4.1 in. A learned man approached by two others outside a building.
- 1159. Fol. 10b. 5.4 × 4.1 in. Prisoners brought before a king.
- 1160. Fol. 19a. 5.8 × 4 in. A king watching a wrestling-bout.
- 1161. Fol. 29b. 5.7 × 4 in. Four men dressed in correct European costume of the period quarrying stone, watched by two venerable Persians.
- 1162. Fol. 40b. 5.7 × 4.1 in. A king watching archery-practice.
- 1163. Fol. 48a. 5.8 × 4 in. A king enthroned with a princess and an attendant.
- 1164. Fol. 50a. 5.6 × 4.1 in. A king approaching a sleeping man in a courtyard.
- 1165. Fol. 59b. 5.7 × 3.9 in. A beggar approaching a house full of people.

FATH 'ALĪ KHĀN: *SHĀHINSHĀH-NĀMA*

MS. Elliot 327 (Ethé 520). Foll. 449. 15.8 × 10.8 in. Lacquered binding with floral designs. The manuscript is undated, and there is no colophon; but on fol. 1a appears the following inscription: '*The History of the King of Kings. This superb Manuscript was presented to His Excellency The Right Hon^{ble} Sir Gore Ouseley Bart., when Ambassador Extraordinary from His Majesty George III to the Court of Tehran, By His Majesty Fateh Ali Shah Kajar, King of Persia. This History of Fateh Ali Shah was composed by Fateh Ali Khan, Melik as Shoara, Poet Laureat. Tehran July 1812.*'

The only illumination is a rather poor heading at the beginning of the Poem on fol. 9b, though a space is left for another at the beginning of the Preface on fol. 1b. Compared with the magnificent adornment of the contemporary copy of the same work in the India Office Library (see below, p. 184) and of the splendid copy of Fath 'Alī Shāh's own *Dīwān* presented

to the Prince Regent and now in Her Majesty's collection at Windsor Castle (*London 1931*, 726A; *Robinson LE*, 145), the present manuscript makes a poor showing. It appears, in fact, that shortage of time or some other circumstance prevented its completion before being presented to Sir Gore Ouseley.

It contains 42 miniature paintings by various court artists in the Europeanizing style of the time. Most of them are of a high standard of execution, but the hybrid nature of the style and the rather tedious reproduction of European motives, particularly a group of trees on a hill, detracts from their artistic effect. Particulars are as follows:

- 1166. Fol. 26b. 7.9 × 6.7 in. Battle between Fath 'Alī Shāh ('The Lord of the Conjunctions') and Šādiq Khān Shaqāqī.
- 1167. Fol. 30b. 8.5 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh holding an audience on his jewelled throne with one of his sons before him.
- 1168. Fol. 54a. 8.2 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh, at the head of an armed body, receiving a suppliant chief.
- 1169. Fol. 57a. 7.4 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh enthroned and with two of his sons before him, receiving tribute at a festival.
- 1170. Fol. 61a. 7.8 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh spearing a lion on a hunting expedition.
- 1171. Fol. 65a. 6.2 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh seated on a jewelled chair in a tent, with the princes 'Abbās Mīrzā, Ḥasan Mīrzā, and 'Alī Shāh, and one of his ministers. This seems to be the work of a rather inferior artist.
- 1172. Fol. 85b. 8.9 × 6.7 in. Battle between Muḥammad Ḥasan Shāh and Bahbud Khān.
- 1173. Fol. 96a. 9.2 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh enthroned with two of his ladies.
- 1174. Fol. 100a. 8.8 × 6.7 in. The defeat of Karīm Khān Zand by Āzād Khān, and the death of Iskandar Khān, brother of Karīm Khān.
- 1175. Fol. 105b. 9.3 × 6.7 in. Battle between Muḥammad Ḥasan Shāh and Āzād Khān.
- 1176. Fol. 108b. 9.3 × 6.7 in. Battle between Muḥammad Ḥasan Shāh and Karīm Khān Zand.
- 1177. Fol. 109b. 9 × 6.7 in. Battle between Maḥmūd Qājār and Parwīz Zand near Shīrāz, in which the latter was killed.

1178. Fol. 110*b*. 8.9 × 6.7 in. Battle between 'Alī Āghā'i Qājār and Dārāb Zand near Shīrāz, and the death of the latter.
1179. Fol. 111*b*. 7.6 × 6.7 in. Another defeat of the Zands by the Qājārs, with the leader of the former being lassoed.
1180. Fol. 112*b*. 7.3 × 6.7 in. Another incident in the wars of the Zand and Qājār families; it occurs during the campaign of Jahāngīr Māzandarānī under the orders of Muḥammad Ḥasan Shāh near Shīrāz against Dārāb Zand, according to the heading on fol. 112*a*, but cf. No. 1178.
1181. Fol. 113*b*. 7.3 × 6.7 in. Battle between Bairām Māhrukhsār Qājār and Pairūz Zand, on the orders of Muḥammad Ḥasan Shāh, in which Parwīz¹ was killed, but cf. No. 1177.
1182. Fol. 114*b*. 7.4 × 6.7 in. Battle between Shīrẓād Astarābādī and Ādhurqabād Zand.
1183. Fol. 129*a*. 7.9 × 6.7 in. Capture of Mahdī Khān by Ḥasan 'Alī Khān.
1184. Fol. 144*a*. 8 × 6.7 in. A captive being secured in the Palace.
1185. Fol. 146*a*. 8.8 × 6.7 in. Battle between Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Fughān 'Alī Āghā.
1186. Fol. 150*a*. 8.8 × 6.7 in. Battle between Jahānsūz and Ḥasan 'Alī Khān.
1187. Fol. 153*a*. 9.3 × 6.7 in. Battle between Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Muḥammad Mahdī Khān. This miniature is an almost exact reproduction of No. 1183.
1188. Fol. 156*a*. 9 × 6.7 in. A captive being secured in a palace. This miniature is very similar to No. 1184.
1189. Fol. 159*a*. 8.3 × 6.7 in. Defeat of Katūlān (apparently a Cossack leader) by Jahānsūz Shāh.
1190. Fol. 163*b*. 8.5 × 6.7 in. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh enthroned with one of his ladies before him; her name appears to be Tūti-khūsh ('Pleasant Parrot').
1191. Fol. 169*b*. 8.6 × 6.7 in. Battle between Maḥmūd Khān and Ja'far 'Alī Khān. This is very similar to No. 1185.
1192. Fol. 176*a*. 9.1 × 6.7 in. Defeat of Qādir Khān by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh,

¹ *sic* in the heading on f. 113*a*; probably an error for Pairūz, since the death of Parwīz is recorded earlier (f. 109).

here shown clean-shaven as a very young man. The composition is exactly as in Nos. 1183 and 1187, but reversed.

- 1193. Fol. 186*b*. 8.6 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh enthroned and attended by two of his ladies.
- 1194. Fol. 220*b*. 9.7 × 6.7 in. Defeat of Luṭf 'Alī Khān Zand by the eunuch Āghā Muḥammad Shāh Qājār.
- 1195. Fol. 241*a*. 9.7 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh, at the head of an armed party, receiving a deputation from a fortress in Zabulistan.
- 1196. Fol. 246*b*. 8.1 × 6.7 in. Capture and burning of Yaqnīs by Āghā Muḥammad Shāh.
- 1197. Fol. 252*b*. 7.2 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh enthroned with two of his ladies in attendance.
- 1198. Fol. 265*b*. 9.9 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh on his throne and attended by two of the princes and six ministers, receiving tribute. *Plate XXXIX*.
- 1199. Fol. 281*b*. 9.5 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh and six of his sons playing polo; no less than four balls are simultaneously in play.
- 1200. Fol. 318*a*. 9.6 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh enthroned with three of his ladies in attendance. *Apollo*, Sept. 1950, p. 67, fig. iv.
- 1201. Fol. 339*a*. 8.5 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh, enthroned and attended, hearing news of the exploits of the Crown Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā against the Russians.
- 1202. Fol. 342*b*. 7 × 6.7 in. Battle between 'Abbās Mīrzā and the Russians, the latter drawn up in hollow squares with cannon blazing.
- 1203. Fol. 355*a*. 7.8 × 6.7 in. Fath 'Alī Shāh in battle against the Russians. The composition is exactly as in the preceding miniature. *Plate XXXIX*.
- 1204. Fol. 381*a*. 6.9 × 6.7 in. Defeat of the Russians by 'Abbās Mīrzā (now represented with a beard). The composition is the same as that of Nos. 1202 and 1203, but in reverse.
- 1205. Fol. 386*a*. 6.8 × 6.7 in. 'Abbās Mīrzā killing the Russian leader Shankāda, whose men are chased off the field by the Persians in the background.
- 1206. Fol. 395*a*. 9.3 × 6.7 in. 'Abbās Mīrzā killing another Russian commander.

- 1207.** Fol. 428a. 8.1 × 6.7 in. 'Abbās Mīrzā again defeats the Russians. The Persians are in this instance reinforced by a company of *zamburak*, or small swivel-guns mounted on camels; otherwise this is the same composition as No. 1204.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 146)]

BOOK-COVER

MS. Pers. a. 2b (Ethé 2395). 18.5 × 11.9 in.

- 1208.** Lacquered and painted with a scene of Fath 'Alī Shāh hunting with members of his family; there are twenty figures altogether.

On the reverse, a large medallion between two smaller ones on a crimson background with gold floral scrolls. In the large medallion is portrayed a horseman attacked by a dragon,¹ which coils round him and his horse, while the smaller ones contain buildings and landscape in debased Europeanizing style.

IBN BADĪ' AL-ZAMĀN AL-ḤUSAYNĪ: *ĀTHĀR AL-NUJŪM*

MS. Pers. c. 36 (Beeston 2742). Foll. 148. 11.6 × 8 in. Binding, oriental gilt-stamped leather. There is no illumination in this astronomical miscellany, and the 7 miniature paintings it contains, fair examples of the Qājār style, are confined to single allegorical or symbolical figures. Particulars are as follows:

- 1209.** Fol. 17b. 5.8 × 4 in. An angel with six heads and four arms, on a plain background of greyish blue. The angel's halo appears to be unfinished.
- 1210.** Fol. 18b. 4.8 × 4 in. A seated figure, winged and crowned, with the face of a young man. He is provided with six arms, and holds in his hands a severed human head, a white elephant's trunk, a hammer, a bloody knife, a crown, and a rat. The crowns are left white.
- 1211.** Fol. 19b. 6.2 × 4 in. A seated figure with wings and four arms, holding a book, a sword, a crown (left white), and a red fruit. He wears a turban.
- 1212.** Fol. 20b. 6.3 × 4 in. A seated figure with wings and four arms, holding a dish of fire, a sword, a bottle of wine, and a severed head. He wears a curious head-dress consisting of a small turban surmounting a wide fur cap.

¹ There is a full-size oil-painting of this subject in the Amery Collection.

- 1213.** Fol. 21*b*. 5.5 × 4 in. An enthroned figure with wings and six arms, holding a crown, a peach, an unidentified round object, an ink-pot and pen, a book, and a dish of fire. In front of the throne a lion is seated. The parts that should be gold have been left unpainted, as before, and the face is a little damaged.
- 1214.** Fol. 22*b*. 5.6 × 4 in. A seated figure, winged and crowned, with four arms, holding a small harp, a sword, a peach, and a crown. This latter and the one on his head have been left unpainted.
- 1215.** Fol. 23*b*. 5.8 × 4 in. A seated figure with wings and three arms, holding an ink-pot and pen and two pieces of paper. He wears a red cap with a fur brim.

ALBUM

MS. Ouseley 297 (Ethé 1891). Foll. 12. 12.2 × 9.8 in.

- 1216.** No. 2. 8.8 × 6.7 in. A crude painting in thin water-colour of a dervish with a club and a horn, and a begging-bowl hanging on a tree, alleged to represent Ḥāfiẓ. Probably 1811.
- 1217.** No. 3. 8.9 × 7.2 in. 'Sa'dī'—a work similar to the preceding. He is represented as a greybeard with an axe and a basket of roses. The paper is water-marked '1809'.
- 1218.** No. 4. 8.9 × 6.6 in. Rather a crude painting of a court lady with a glass of wine, and a cat seated by her. It is inscribed, '*This was drawn for me by a painter of Shiraz 1811. Wm Ouseley.*'
- 1219.** No. 6. 5.2 × 3.2 in. 'Shah Ismā'il' seated in a short gold brocade coat over crimson; he has 'Shāh 'Abbās' moustaches and an unshaven jowl. Inscribed, '*Isfahan Octr 1811*'.
- 1220.** No. 7. 6.1 × 4.8 in. Four female tumblers and musicians. Inscribed, '*Cashan Oct 30th 1811*'.
- 1221.** No. 8. 6.1 × 4 in. A young mother seated suckling her child, with a young man behind her. Inscribed as the preceding. This is a work of good quality, and a fine example of the court style of Fath 'Ali Shāh. *Plate XL*.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 149)]

- 1222.** No. 9. 6.5 × 4.1 in. A veiled lady wearing a pair of embroidered trousers and high-heeled green slippers, and carrying a spray of flowers. Inscribed, '*Cashan Oct 29th 1811*'.

- 1223.** No. 10. 5.3×3.5 in. A scene of high debauchery: a young man, hatless and with coat undone, pressing a glass of wine upon a semi-recumbent young woman wearing jewels and embroidered trousers of great magnificence. A cat and a pigeon are also present. Inscribed, '*Cashan Oct 30th 1811*'.

[Exhibited: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951/2 (*Robinson LE*, no. 150)]

(Of the remaining 4 miniatures in this album, Nos. 1, 11 and 12 will be found noted under Nos. 1061, 1073, and 1062, while No. 5 is Indian.)

MAKTABĪ: *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN*

MS. Elliot 231 (Ethé 893). Foll. 100. 7.7×4.7 in. Painted lacquer binding contemporary with the manuscript; on the outer covers are represented (i) Shīrīn bathing, seen by Khusraw, (ii) Shīrīn visiting Farhād at Mount Behistun, and on the inner surfaces a mother and child at each end. The manuscript is dated 1238/1822 'at Shiraz', and opens, on fol. 1*b*, with an illuminated heading of very fine quality, the margins of both fol. 1*b* and fol. 2*a* being also finely decorated.

There are 16 miniatures of fair quality in typical Qājār style, the subjects being as follows:

- 1224.** Fol. 16*b*. 1.4×2.4 in. Laylā and Majnūn falling in love at school.
- 1225.** Fol. 32*a*. 3.6×2.4 in. Majnūn in the desert visited by three venerable men and a youth.
- 1226.** Fol. 41*b*. 3.6×2.4 in. Majnūn in the desert visited by an old man.
- 1227.** Fol. 48*b*. 3.3×2.4 in. A meeting at the house of Nawfal to discuss the affair of Majnūn.
- 1228.** Fol. 51*a*. 3.9×2.4 in. The battle of the clans.
- 1229.** Fol. 60*a*. 3×2.4 in. The marriage of Laylā and Ibn Salām.
- 1230.** Fol. 61*b*. 3.6×2.4 in. Laylā meets Majnūn while being conveyed on a camel to the house of her husband.
- 1231.** Fol. 64*b*. 3.7×2.4 in. Majnūn disguised as a sheep is saved from the slaughter by Laylā (in a tent in the background) who sends a man to intervene.
- 1232.** Fol. 66*b*. 3.2×2.4 in. Majnūn in the desert among the animals, receiving advice from his father.

1233. Fol. 70*b*. 3.1 × 2.4 in. Majnūn hearing from a huntsman of the death of his father.
1234. Fol. 72*a*. 3.2 × 2.4 in. Majnūn clasping his father's tomb, with mourning women standing by.
1235. Fol. 73*b*. 4.1 × 2.4 in. Majnūn in the desert among the animals, nursing a fawn.
1236. Fol. 76*b*. 3.1 × 2.4 in. Laylā's messenger bringing Majnūn a letter.
1237. Fol. 85*a*. 2.7 × 2.4 in. A woman embracing Majnūn in the desert among the animals.
1238. Fol. 91*a*. 3.2 × 2.4 in. The meeting of Laylā and Majnūn after the death of Ibn Salām.

SA'DĪ: *GHAZALS AND GULISTĀN*

MS. Pers. e. 41 (Beeston 2583). Fol. 55. 8.8 × 5.5 in. Binding, a modern patchwork made up of pieces of an older lacquered floral cover. Small and tawdry illumination of very poor quality on foll. 1*b* and 4*b*. The manuscript is not dated, but is written on European paper with a watermark, and may belong to the early nineteenth century. The four miniatures, however, have been painted *over* the text, and are perhaps of late nineteenth-century date. They are characterized by poor drawing, unpleasant colour, and careless execution. Particulars are as follows:

1239. Fol. 7*b*. 2.9 × 2.8 in. A young man looking through a window in astonishment at a girl reclining on a cushion on the floor inside.
1240. Fol. 21*a*. 3.2 × 2.8 in. Three men in a landscape.
1241. Fol. 32*a*. 3.1 × 2.8 in. A traveller meeting another man in a landscape.
1242. Fol. 43*b*. 2.9 × 2.8 in. A man and a woman drinking indoors.

ḤĀFIZ: *DIWĀN*

MS. Pers. e. 42 (Beeston 2609). Foll. 181. 8.4 × 5.5 in. Binding, oriental blind-stamped leather. There is a poor and gaudy illuminated heading on fol. 1*b*.

The manuscript is dated in the colophon to 1221/1806, but the 6 miniatures which it contains are modern works in an unpleasant style almost entirely dominated by European conventions, having nothing whatever in

common with the Qājār style as practised at that time. Particulars are as follows:

- 1243. Fol. 13*b*. $4\cdot1 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ, carrying a crooked walking-stick, taking part in a learned discussion before a king.
- 1244. Fol. 31*b*. $4 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ praying in a mosque, with a young man behind him. The architecture, though of red brick, is distinctly Norman in appearance.
- 1245. Fol. 67*a*. $3\cdot2 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ discoursing to three young men by a stream.
- 1246. Fol. 87*a*. $3\cdot2 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ and two other men in a landscape by a stream.
- 1247. Fol. 112*b*. $4\cdot3 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ and three others by a rocky pool.
- 1248. Fol. 150*b*. $3\cdot2 \times 3\cdot7$ in. Ḥāfiẓ, a young man before him, seated on a balcony with his water-pipe. The windows in the building behind are of European type and represented with broken panes!

RISĀLAT AL-ʿĀSHIQIN

MS. Pers. e. 43 (Beeston 2713). Foll. 84. $8\cdot4 \times 6$ in. Binding, modern limp red leather. There is a hideous heading in gaudy blue and gold, surmounted by two birds, on fol. 3*b*. The colophon on fol. 84*b* gives the date Rabīʿ 1199/February 1785, but the 2 miniatures which the manuscript contains appear to be considerably later. They are of poor quality and full of European tricks of drawing and shading, and scarcely retain any Persian character at all. Particulars are as follows:

- 1249. Fol. 12*b*. $2\cdot3 \times 3\cdot6$ in. Laylā in the desert with Majnūn's head on her lap.
- 1250. Fol. 52*a*. $3\cdot5 \times 3\cdot5$ in. A group of animals in a landscape.

MANUSCRIPTS FOR COMPARISON

- 18th c. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Paris, Tabbagh Collection, and Louvre. *Blochet MP*, pls. CLXIX, CLXX. *Stchoukine L*, pl. XXX.
- 1216/1802. KHĀQĀN (FATH 'ALĪ SHĀH): *Diwān*. Windsor, Royal Library, MS. A/4. 2 miniatures, signed by Mīrzā Bābā. Copyist, Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ṭīhrānī, the Royal Scribe. *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1951, p. 181, fig. XII.
- Early 19th c. FATH 'ALĪ KHĀN: *Shāhinshāh Nāma*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Flügel*, 639. Unpublished.
- Early 19th c. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Leningrad, Public Library 64. 64 miniatures. *Giusalian & Diakonov*, pl. 50.
- 1225/1810. FATH 'ALĪ KHĀN: *Shāhinshāh Nāma*. London, India Office Library, *Ethé*, 901. 38 miniatures. Copyist, Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ḥusaynī al-Farahānī, the Royal Scribe. *Arnold & Grohmann*, pl. 77. *Robinson VAM*, pl. 32. *VAM Neg.*, J. 453, J. 597.
- c. 1830. FIRDAWSI: *Shāhnāma*. Rome, Bib. Casanatense, MS. 4893. 52 miniatures. *Ac. & Bib.* IX (1935), pp. 261 ff.
- 1305/1888. KHĀQĀNĪ: *Tuhfat al-'Irāqain*. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1694. 6 miniatures. Unpublished.

APPENDIX

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF ARTISTIC INTEREST IN COLLEGE LIBRARIES

All Souls

FIRDAWSĪ: *SHĀHNĀMA*

All Souls MS. 288. Foll. 487. 14 × 10 in. Binding, contemporary leather, but in bad condition.

The following note is prefixed to the manuscript:

'This curious MS. is entitled Shah Nameh, or the book of kings, by Ferdoussi, usually called the Persian Homer.

It was purchased for one hundred guineas at Muxadabad (Muradabad?), by William Lushington esq. of the East India Company, and given by him to his brother, Stephen Lushington, esq., one of the proctors of the Court of Arches; who thinking it well deserving of a place in some public and learned collection, presented it to All Souls' College to be deposited in the Codrington Library, April 11, 1776.
Tho. Bever.'

No copyist's name is given in the colophon, but the manuscript is dated 26 Šafar 988/12 April 1580. The text includes the episode of Barzū, Rustam's grandson, and breaks off at the death of Iskandar. Foll. 1*b* and 2*a* are illuminated as a double title-page in the rather broad style of the period, and there are illuminated headings on foll. 7*b*, 136*b*, and 305*b* (beginning of the reign of Luhrāsp). The manuscript contains 21 miniatures of good average quality in the contemporary Qazwīn style; they are characterized by strong colouring and the large size of many of the plants represented. Particulars are as follows:

- 1251. Fol. 1*a*. Medallion with two young men and flowering trees.
- 1252. Fol. 19*b*. ʿAḥḥāk, mounted on a camel and secured in a palahang, is conducted by Farīdūn to meet his fate on Mount Damawand.
- 1253. Fol. 33*a*. The infant Zāl returned to his father by the Sīmurgh.
- 1254. Fol. 53*b*. Battle between Qāran and the army of Afrāsiyāb.
- 1255. Fol. 60*a*. Kay Qubād discovered by Rustam on Mount Alburz.
- 1256. Fol. 69*b*. Rustam and the White Demon. The artist has forgotten to add the stripes to the hero's tiger-skin coat.
- 1257. Fol. 92*b*. The death of Suhrāb.

1258. Fol. 100a. The fire-ordeal of Siyāwush.
1259. Fol. 120b. Murder of Siyāwush.
1260. Fol. 156b. Defeat of the Persians at Mount Hamawan, with the Magician creating the storm, apparently by means of a magic mirror.
1261. Fol. 173a. Rustam dragging the Khāqān from his elephant. The Khāqān's followers are coloured black and dressed as Indians.
1262. Fol. 220a. The mother of Barzū, in male attire, preventing Rustam from killing her son.
1263. Fol. 262b. Barman killed by Ruhhām in the Battle of the Twelve Rukhs.
1264. Fol. 278a. Defeat of Afrāsiyāb by Rustam and the Persians, just after the death of the former's son Shīda at the hands of Kay Khusraw.
1265. Fol. 296a. The execution of Afrāsiyāb and Garsīwaz before Kay Khusraw.
1266. Fol. 331a. Isfandiyār killing the dragon.
1267. Fol. 351b. Rustam shooting Isfandiyār in the eyes with the magic forked arrow.
1268. Fol. 373a. Single combat between Bahman and Humāy, 'daughter of the King of Egypt'.
1269. Fol. 384b. Rustam, dying in the pit of spears, shooting his treacherous brother Shaghād.
1270. Fol. 413a. Execution of Farāmurz by Bahman.
1271. Fol. 455a. Hero killing a dragon which has half-swallowed a man, whilst another has taken refuge up a tree.

Brasenose

JĀMĪ: *YŪSUF U ZULAYKHĀ*, &c.

Brasenose MS. 20 (Ethé 2361). Foll. 194. 10 × 6½ in. Copyist, Ḥusayn b. Luṭfallāh al-Ḥusaynī: dated Jumāda II 968/March 1561. The manuscript contains four poems by Jāmī, each with an illuminated heading (foll. 2b, 71b, 104b, and 155b) of fine quality.

The covers of the manuscript are of painted lacquer, contemporary, of

high quality, and in very good condition. The style is that of Qazwīn. The subjects are as follows:

1272. *Front*: A learned discussion.

1273. *Back*: A royal hunt.

1274. *Flap*: Laylā and Majnūn.

Note. The manuscript was presented in 1678 to Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke, at Florence, by his cousin, resident at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was presented to B.N.C. in 1724 by his kinsman, John St. John, Baron St. John of Bletsoe.

ADDENDUM

(TURKMAN STYLE)

The manuscript below was acquired when the printing of this Catalogue was almost completed; its correct place is after MS. Elliot 192 on p. 58.

MS. Pers. d. 105 (uncatalogued). Foll. 388. 10.9 × 6.7 in. Contemporary binding of excellent quality (spine and edges repaired) with sunk gilt medallions, and fine cut-out work on the doublures. Dated Shawwāl 909/March–April 1504 by the Shiraz copyist Mun'im al-Dīn al-Awhadī. A few words of the colophon have been erased between the end of the copyist's name and the word 'Shawwāl'. There is a double illuminated title-page (the border added later) on foll. 1*b* and 2*a*, and illuminated headings on foll. 28*b* (*Khusraw u Shirin*), 114*b* (*Laylā wa Majnūn*), 179*b* (*Haft Paikar*), 249*b* (*Iskandar Nāma*), and 337*b* (*lqbāl Nāma*). These are of unusual form for this type of manuscript, and, except on the double title-page, the gold arabesques have not been outlined in black, which was the normal practice.

The manuscript contains 30 miniatures in the Turkman style, of good average quality; there has been slight damage to the faces here and there. It seems probable that the execution of the miniatures was divided between three different artists (cf. MS. Ouseley Add. 24, p. 97) and an attempt has been made in the notes that follow to apportion them accordingly. In the case of artist A the task is fairly simple. He gives the impression of a painter trained in the Shiraz tradition of fifty years earlier, and his practice of highlighting the nose with white paint, his treatment of the blue-tiled dado in No. 1290, his sometimes awkward drawing, and some of his colour-schemes recall the work of the illustrator of the Chester Beatty Sa'dī of 852/1448 (P. 260 Add.), the Kevorkian *Shāhnāma* of 861/1457 (*Robinson* xxiii), and the Bibliothèque Nationale Nizāmī of c. 1450–60 (Sup. pers. 1112). Artists B and C are more conventional exponents of the Turkman style and the apportioning of the remaining miniatures between them is more tentative. The work of B is, however, a trifle less delicate than that of C. Particulars of the miniatures are as follows:

1275. Fol. 12*b*. 5 × 4 in. The Old Woman petitioning Sultān Sanjar. Artist A.

1276. Fol. 37*b*. 4.9 × 4 in. Khusraw brought before his father Hurmuzd. Artist B.

1277. Fol. 45*a*. 5.2 × 4 in. Khusraw spies Shīrīn bathing. Artist C.

1278. Fol. 51*b*. 4.4 × 4 in. Meeting of Khusraw and Shīrīn in the hunting-field. Artist C.

1279. Fol. 71*b*. 4.9 × 4 in. Farhād before Khusraw. Artist B.
1280. Fol. 75*a*. 5.2 × 4 in. Farhād carrying Shīrīn and her horse. Artist C.
1281. Fol. 94*b*. 5.2 × 4 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn feasting. Artist B.
1282. Fol. 102*a*. 4.8 × 4 in. Khusraw and Shīrīn consummating their marriage. The two principal figures have been largely obliterated. Artist B.
1283. Fol. 107*a*. 4.2 × 4 in. Murder of Khusraw in bed with Shīrīn. Artist B.
1284. Fol. 125*b*. 5.2 × 4 in. Laylā and Majnun at school together. Artist C.
1285. Fol. 130*a*. 5.2 × 4 in. Majnūn at the Ka'ba. Artist A.
1286. Fol. 139*a*. 5.7 × 4 in. Conference between the tribes of Nawfal and Laylā. Artist A.
1287. Fol. 143*a*. 5.6 × 4 in. Majnūn brought to Laylā's tent. Some of the faces a trifle damaged. Artist A.
1288. Fol. 151*a*. 5.4 × 4 in. Majnūn in the desert with the beasts. Artist B.
1289. Fol. 169*a*. 4.8 × 4 in. Laylā and Majnūn fainting. Artist A.
1290. Fol. 175*a*. 4.2 × 4 in. Death of Majnūn on Laylā's tomb. There is a large and elaborate dome in the upper margin, and the blue tiling on the lower part of the room-wall rises to a point on either side of the central window. This device, presumably due to misunderstood perspective, is occasionally found in Shiraz manuscripts of the mid-fifteenth century (e.g. the Kevorkian *Shāhnāma* of 861/1457, *Robinson* xxiii). Artist A.
1291. Fol. 191*a*. 5.6 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr shooting a lion and a wild ass with a single arrow. Artist C.
1292. Fol. 199*a*. 5.4 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr pinning the hoof of a wild ass to its ear, watched by Fitna the slave-girl playing her harp. Artist B.
1293. Fol. 206*a*. 4.9 × 4.5 in. Bahrām Gūr feasting with a princess under a canopy. Artist A.
1294. Fol. 213*b*. 5.4 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess in the Yellow Pavilion. Bahrām's face damaged. Artist A.

1295. Fol. 216*b*. 4·6 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess in the Green Pavilion. The Princess's face has been damaged and retouched. Artist B.
1296. Fol. 220*b*. 4·8 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess in the Red Pavilion. Artist C.
1297. Fol. 224*b*. 4·5 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr with the Princess in the Blue Pavilion. Both faces damaged and retouched. Artist C.
1298. Fol. 230*b*. 4·4 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the Sandalwood Pavilion. Artist C.
1299. Fol. 236*a*. 5·5 × 4 in. Bahrām Gūr and the Princess in the White Pavilion. Artist B.
1300. Fol. 266*a*. 5·7 × 4 in. Zarācha leading the Zangī army against that of Iskandar. Artist B.
1301. Fol. 282*b*. 5·3 × 4 in. Iskandar and the dying Dārā. Artist A.
1302. Fol. 295*b*. 5·9 × 4 in. Iskandar enthroned with Queen Nūshāba. Several faces damaged and retouched. Artist C.
1303. Fol. 321*a*. 5·6 × 4 in. Battle between Iskandar and the Russians. Artist A?
1304. Fol. 325*b*. 5·2 × 4 in. Iskandar lassoing the Russian demon-champion. Faces damaged and repainted. Artist C.

CONCORDANCE OF PRESS-MARKS AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Press-mark</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Catalogue nos.</i>
MS. All Souls 288	Firdawsī	988/1580	1251-71
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MS. Elliot 325	Firdawsī	899/1494	508-62
MS. Elliot 327	Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān	c. 1810	1166-1207
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MS. Hyde 10	Jāmī	940/1533	696-8
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MS. Marsh 579	Nizāmī	956/1549	710-25
MS. Ouseley 14	Amīr Saifi	(886/1481)	680-2
MS. Ouseley 18	Mas'ūd	886/1481	683-5
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MS. Ouseley 20	Hāfiẓ	956/1549	726-9, 1084-8
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MS. Ouseley 317	Nizāmī	1056/1646	1064-71
MS. Ouseley 344	Firdawsī	1010/1601	927-66
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MS. Pers. c. 4	Firdawsī	852/1448	675
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MS. Pers. d. 105	Nizāmī	909/1504	1275-1304
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- No. 1094 Nizāmī 934/1528, 120.

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c. 1440 Dublin, Chester Beatty, P. 141, 23.
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849/1446 Princeton, Univ. Lib., *Hitti* 7,
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127. Rustam fleeing from Isfandiyār. c. 1432-5

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18. Presentation to a queen. c. 1330-40
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45. Warriors outside a castle. c. 1330-40
MS. Ouseley 381, f. 31 b



72. Samak conversing with Mähūs. *c.* 1330-40
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76. Execution of the witch Tighū. *c.* 1330-40
MS. Ouseley 381, f. 302 *a*



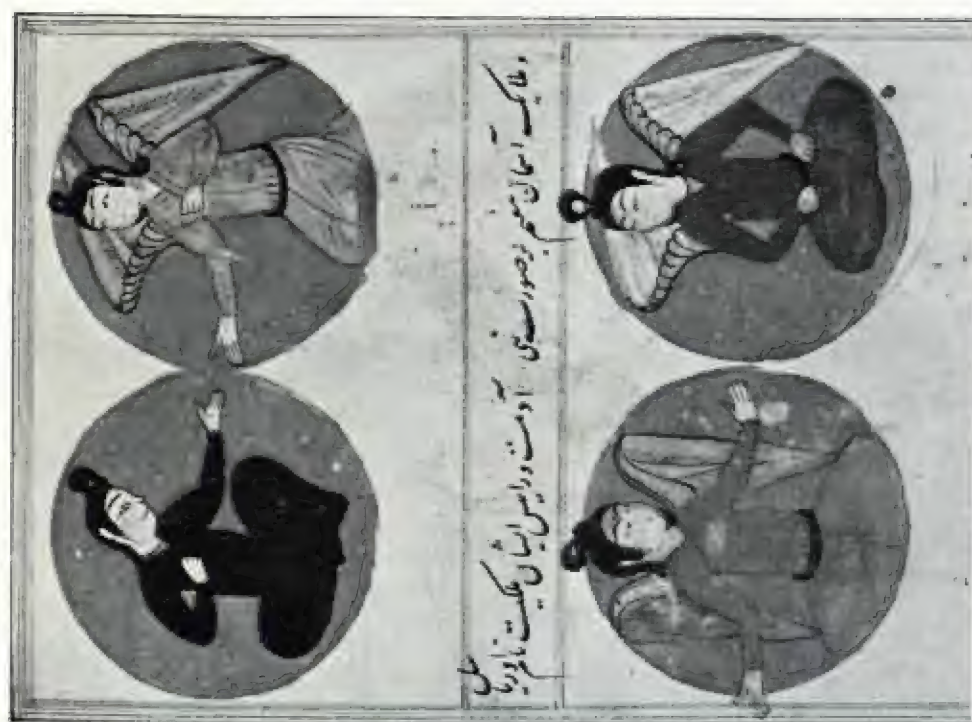
94 Dabihāk nailed in Mount Damāvand. c. 1432-5
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104 Rustam and the White Demon. c. 1432-5
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599. Iskandar entertaining the Khāqān. 1501
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184, 185. Four angels. c. 1480
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501. 'The Concourse of Birds. 1493
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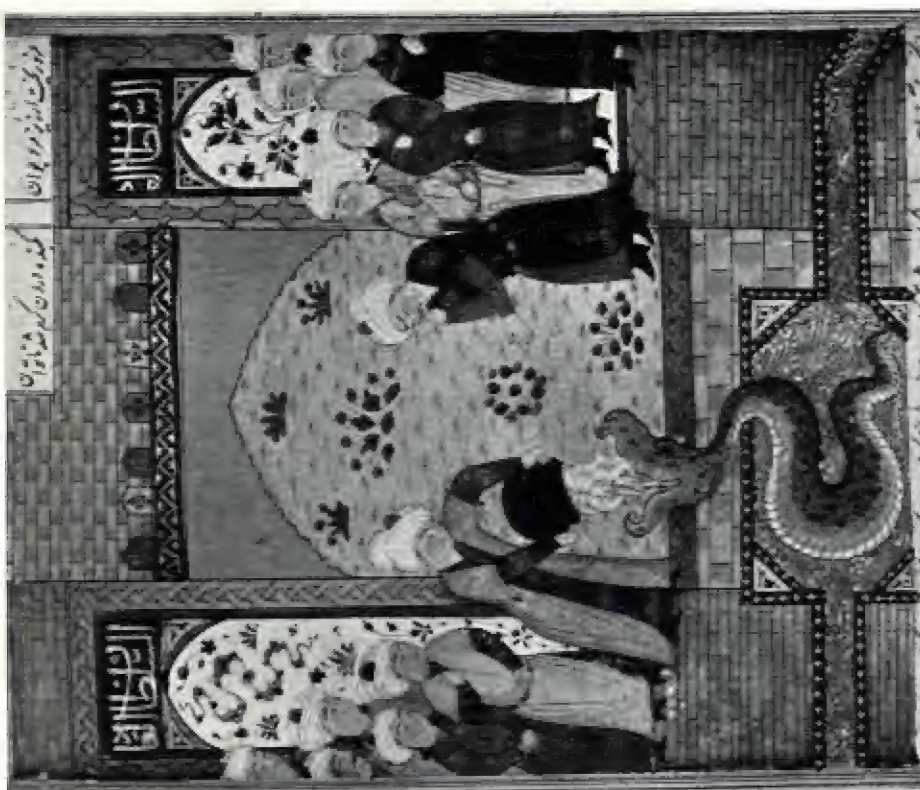


503. The Shaykh of San'an tending swine. 1493
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510. King Gayumarth and his court, 1494

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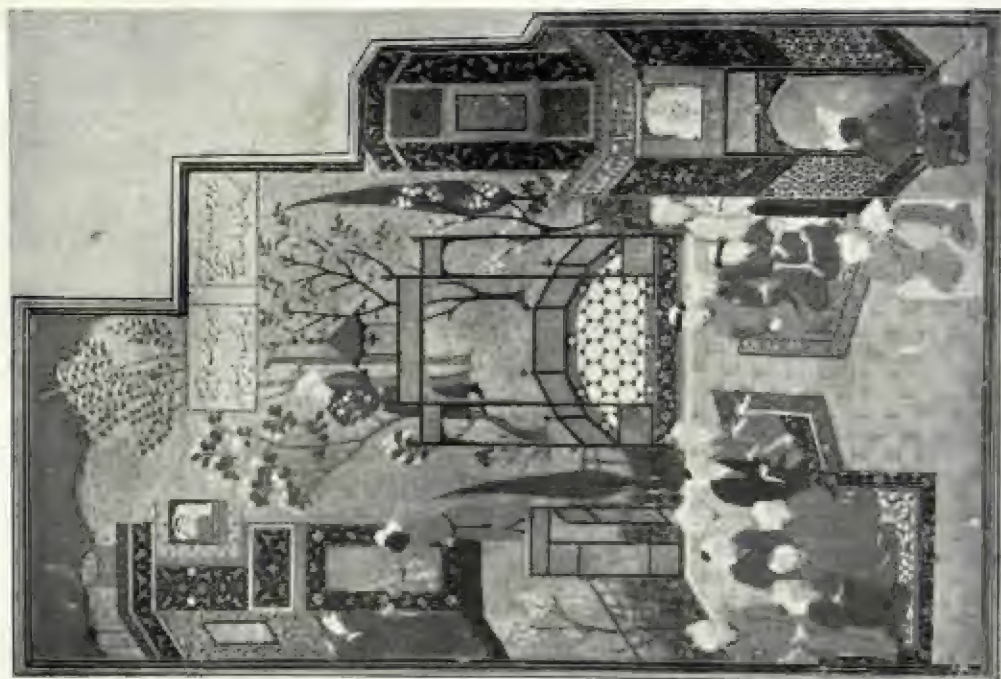


545. Ardashir and the Worm of Kerman, 1494

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610. Farhād hears of the death of Shīrīn. 1485
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612. Courtiers waiting for their king. 1485
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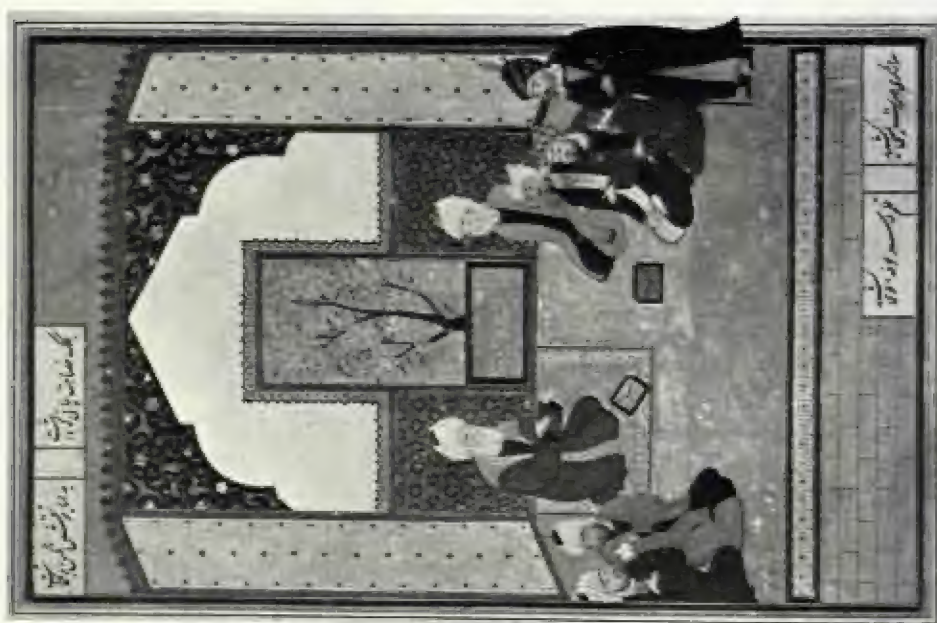
679. Majnūn among the beasts. c. 1480
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682. Young man feeding a fawn. 1481
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686. King Dārā and the herdsman. c. 1515-20
MS. Marsh 517, f. 9 b



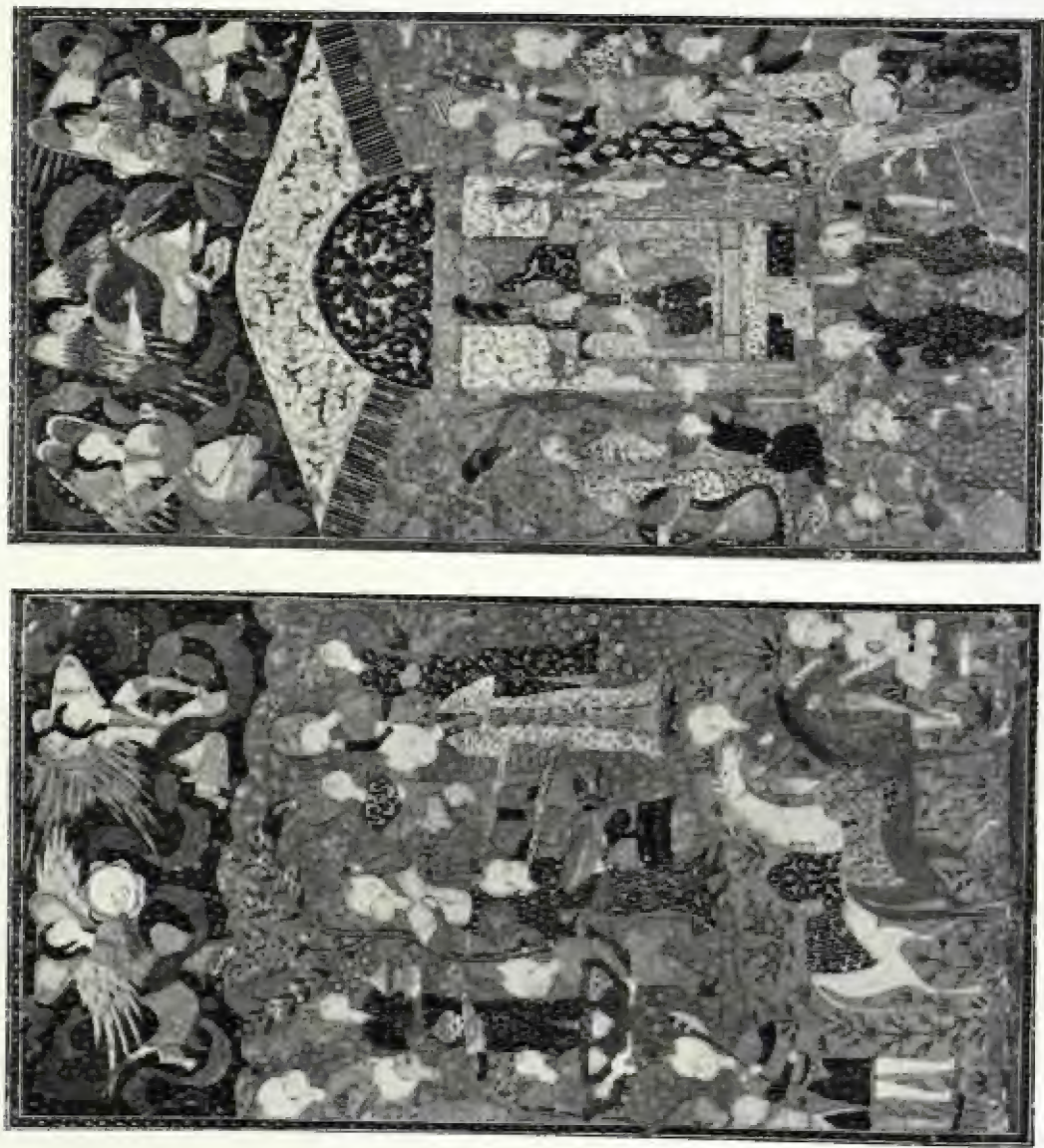
687. Sa'di entering a learned gathering. c. 1515-20
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751. Harmuzd son of Nushirwān hunting, 1552
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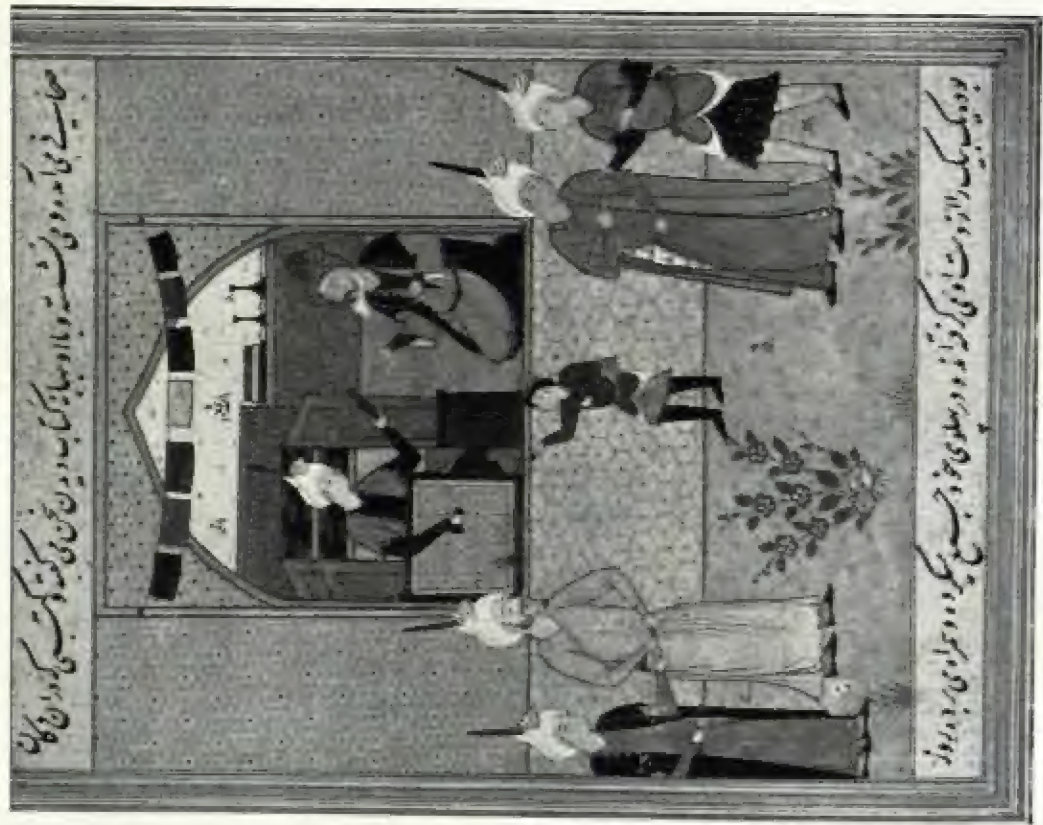
697. Yūsuf sold as a slave, 1533
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912. Mīhr and Mushtarī enthroned, 1581
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866. Yūsuf sold as a slave, c. 1575
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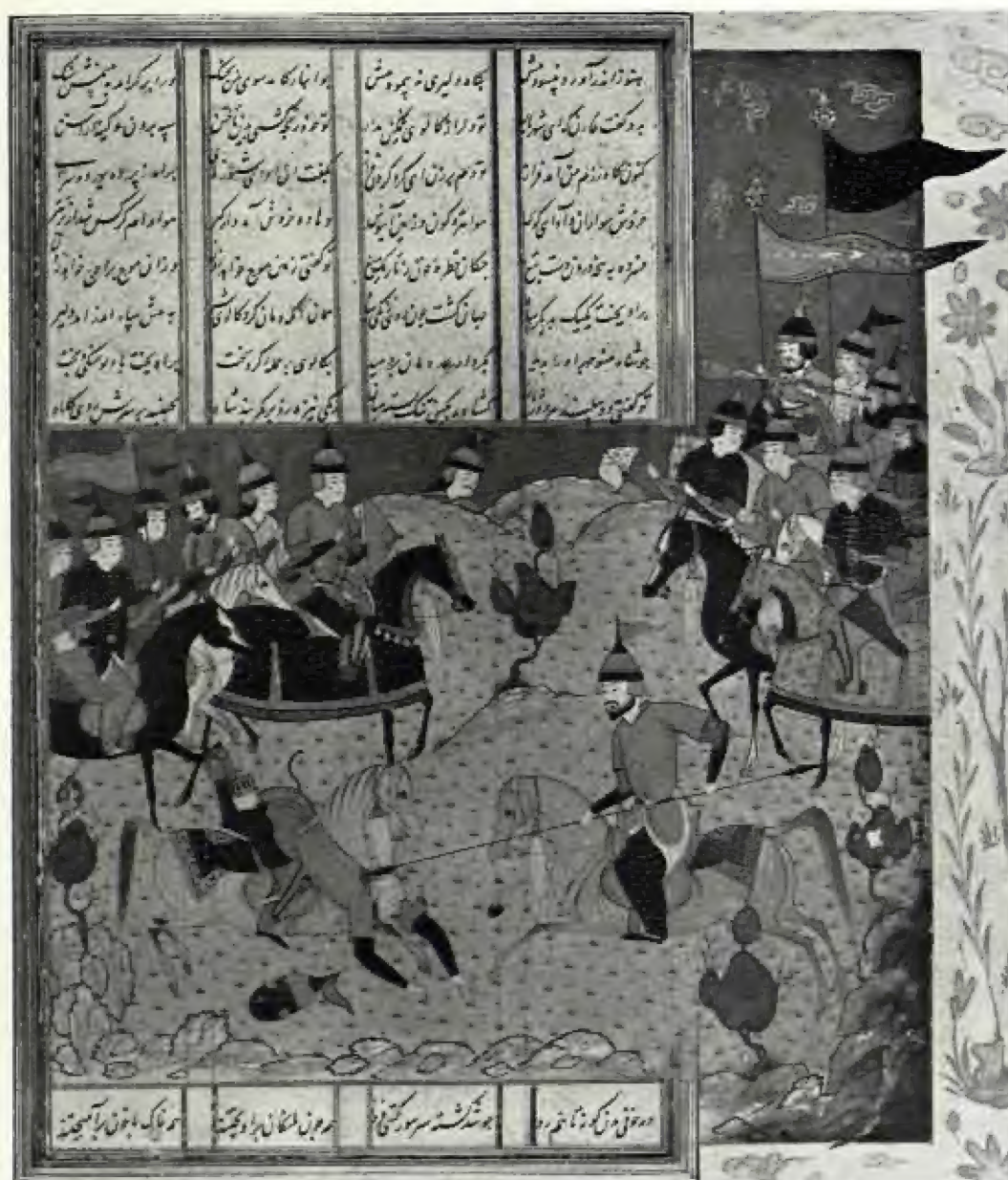
886. Shaykh Nasafi sleeping between two armies. c. 1570

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894. Laylā visits Majnūn in camp. c. 1570

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847. Salm slain by Minuchihr. c. 1570
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925. Hunting-scene, c. 1600
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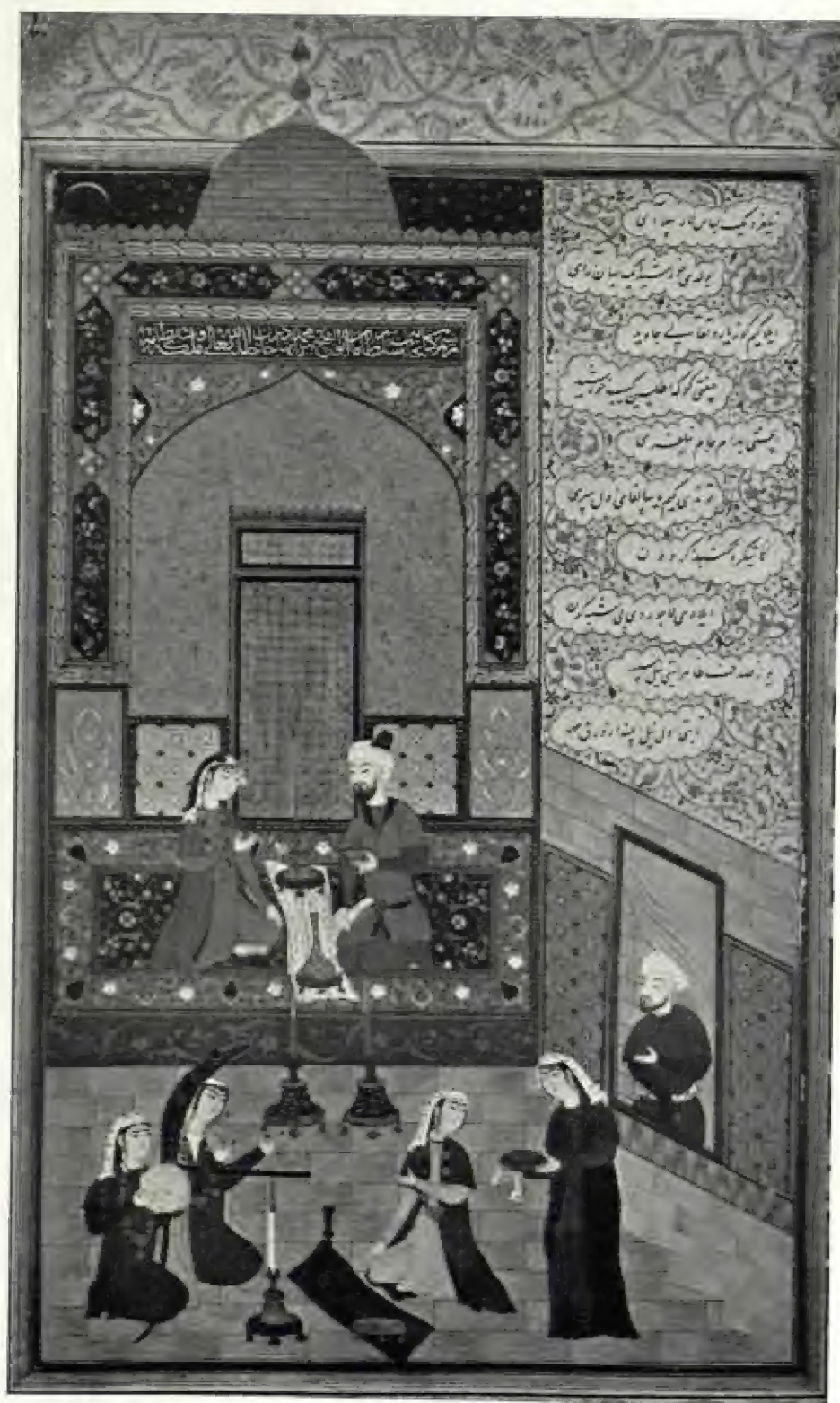


931. Rostam and the White Demon, 1601

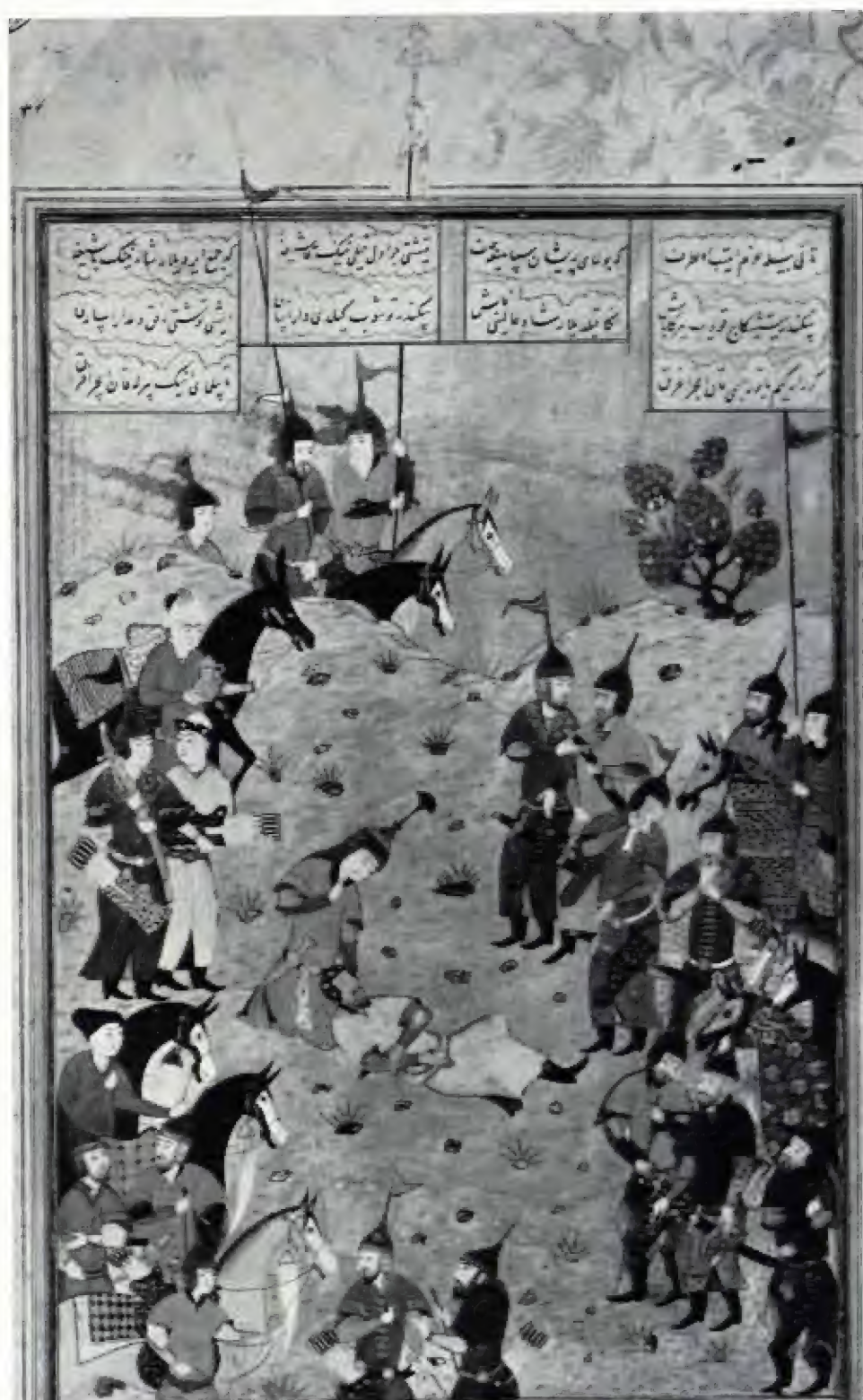
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1036. A Turkman prisoner. c. 1575
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978. Bahrām and the Princess in the Blue Pavilion. 1553
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984. Iskandar comforting the dying Dārā. 1553

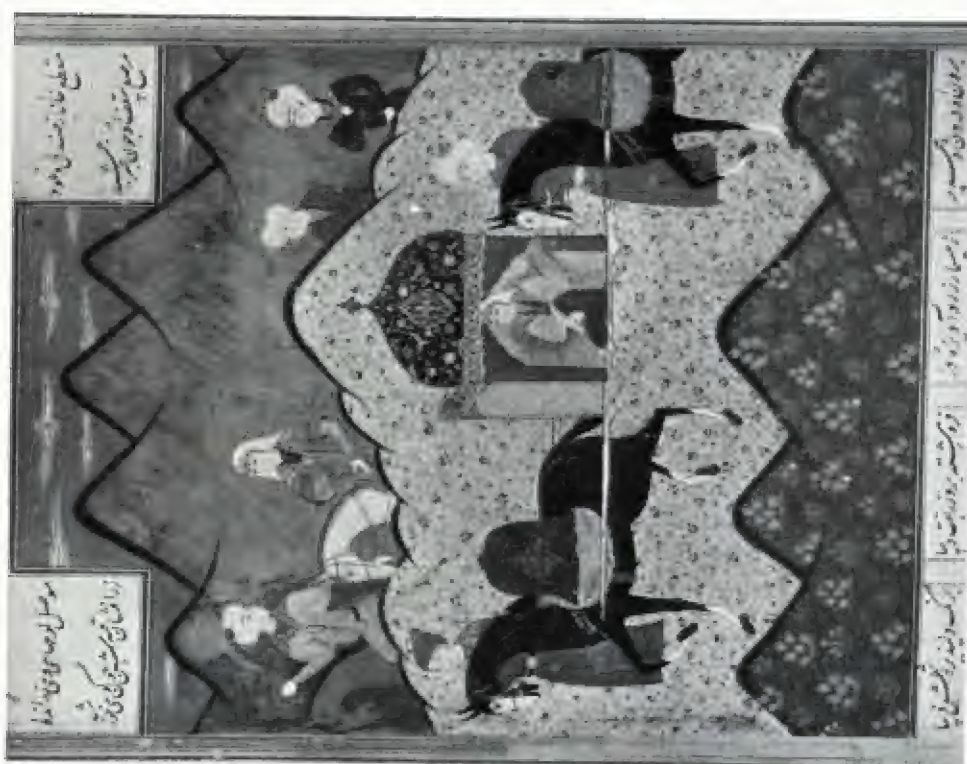
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968. Khusrav kneeling before Shirin. c. 1520
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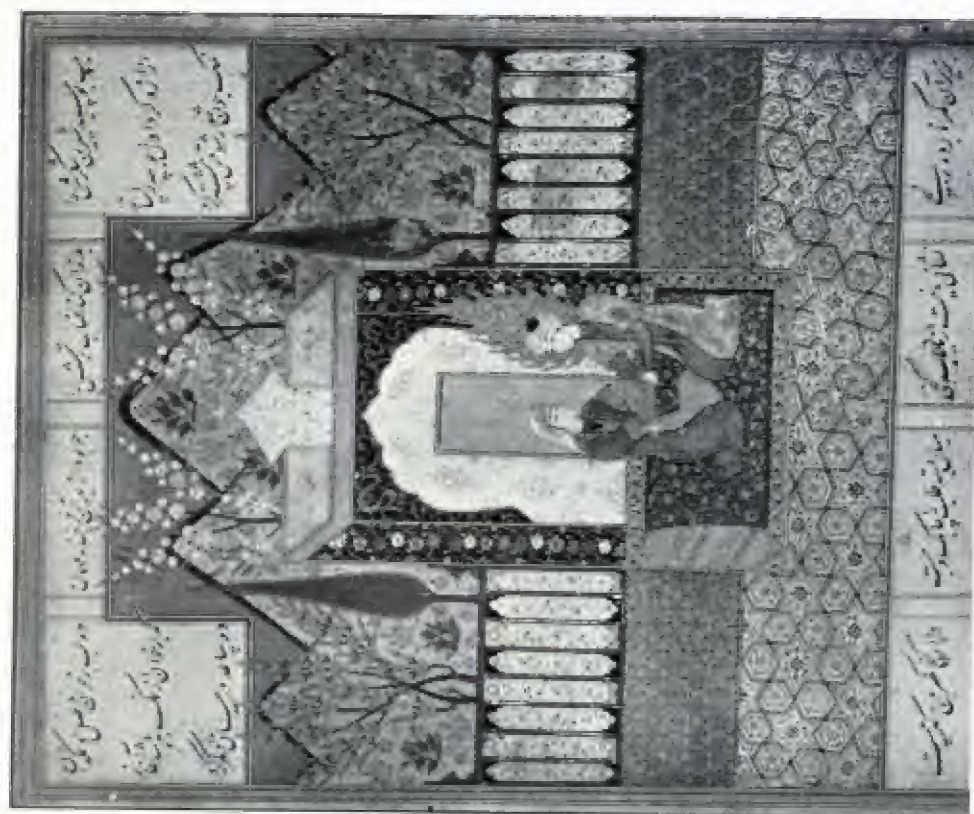


970. Shirin visiting Farhad at Mount Behistun. c. 1520
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996. Zulaykhā travelling in a palanquin. 1595

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1005. Yūsuf wedded to Zulaykhā. 1595

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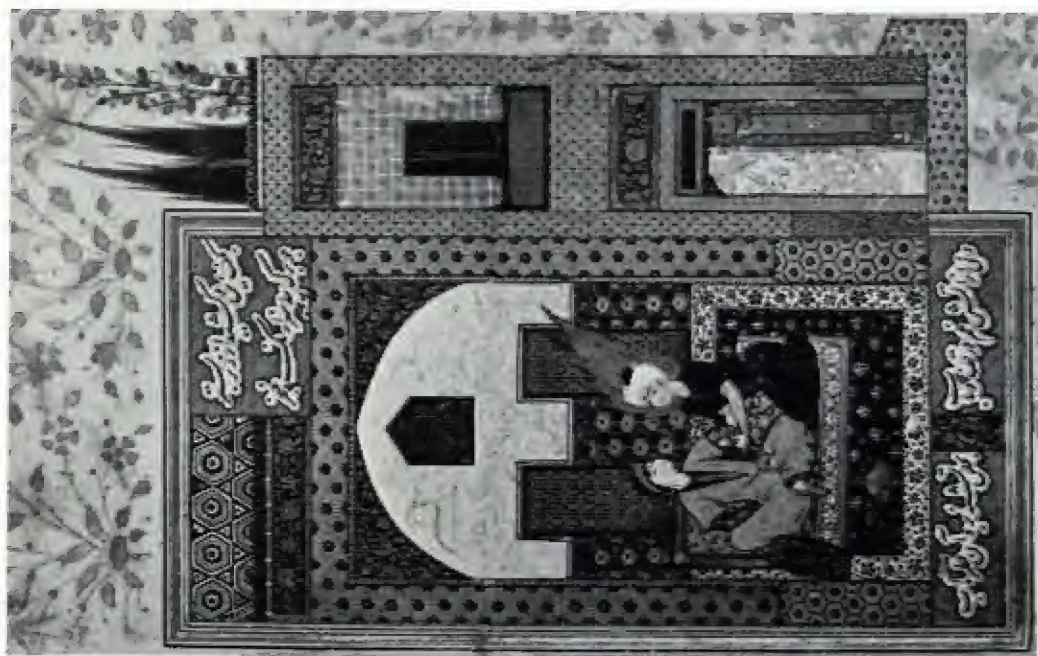
1012. Pitan and Pikan wrestling. 1565

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1013. Entertainment outside a castle. 1565

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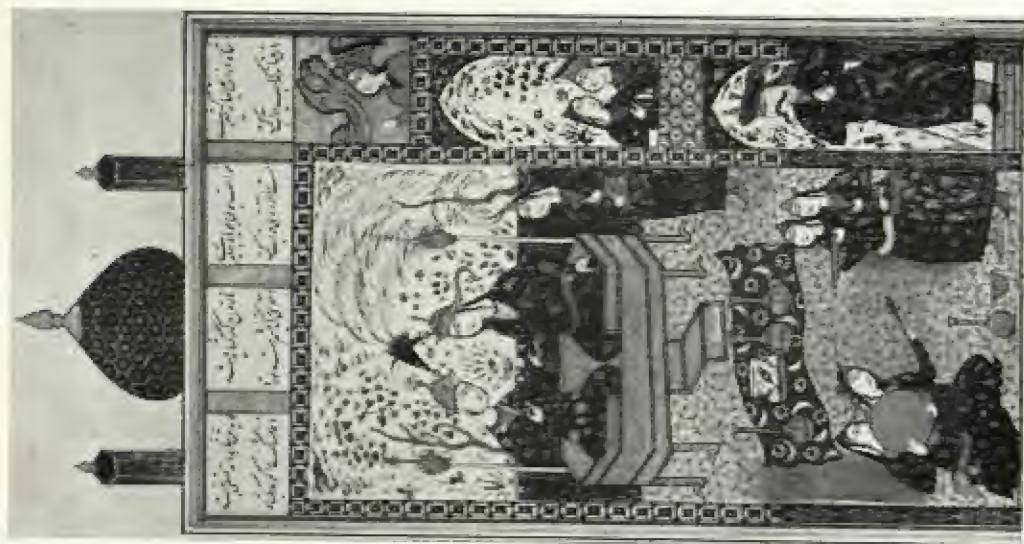
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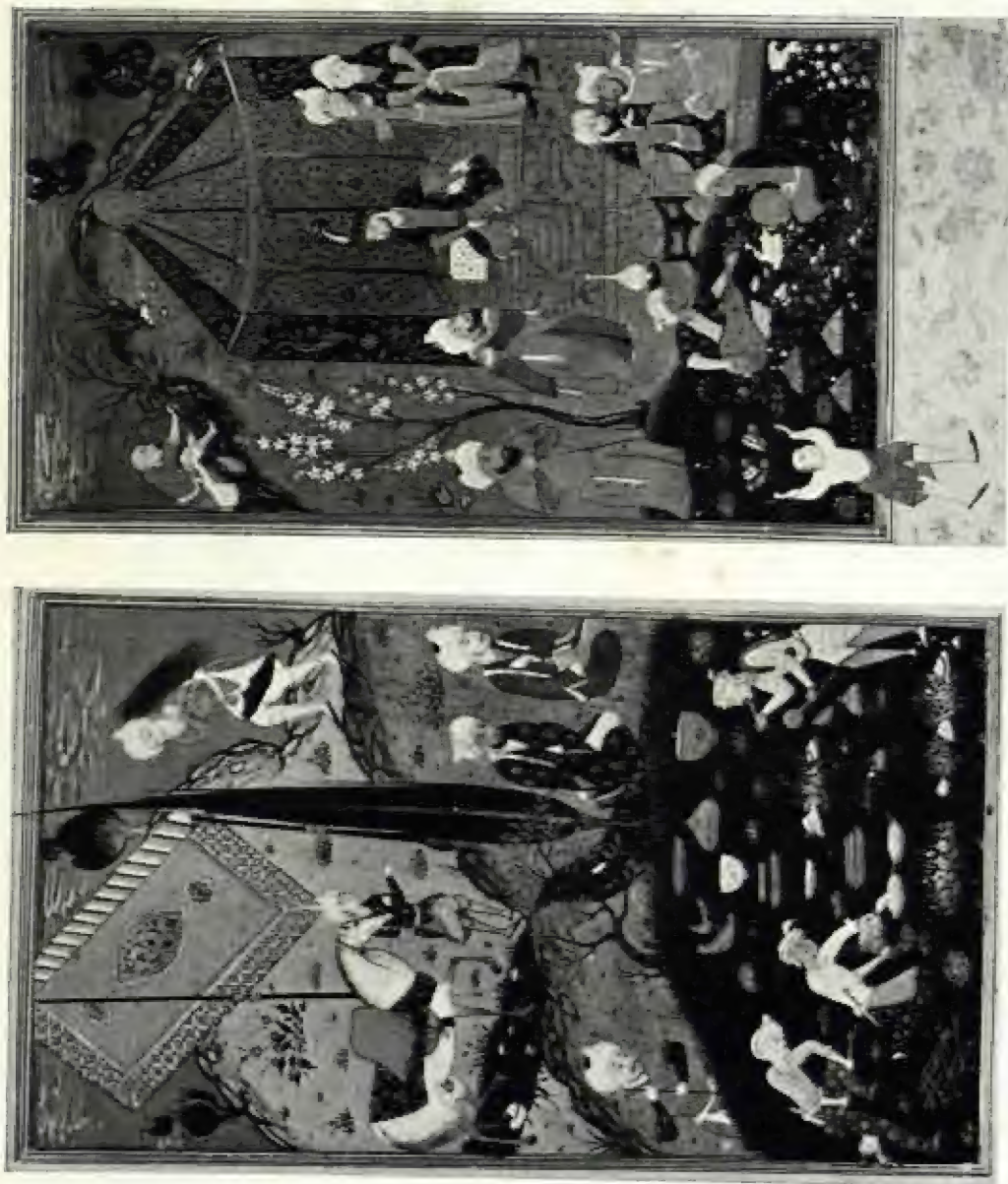
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1029. The Battle of the Clans. 1573
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1038. A royal picnic. c. 1575
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1042. Rustam and Pilsam. c. 1575
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1044. Prince with a falcon, by Kamāl of Tabriz, *c.* 1575
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1045. Ladies preparing a picnic. *c.* 1575
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1058. A learned discussion. 1593
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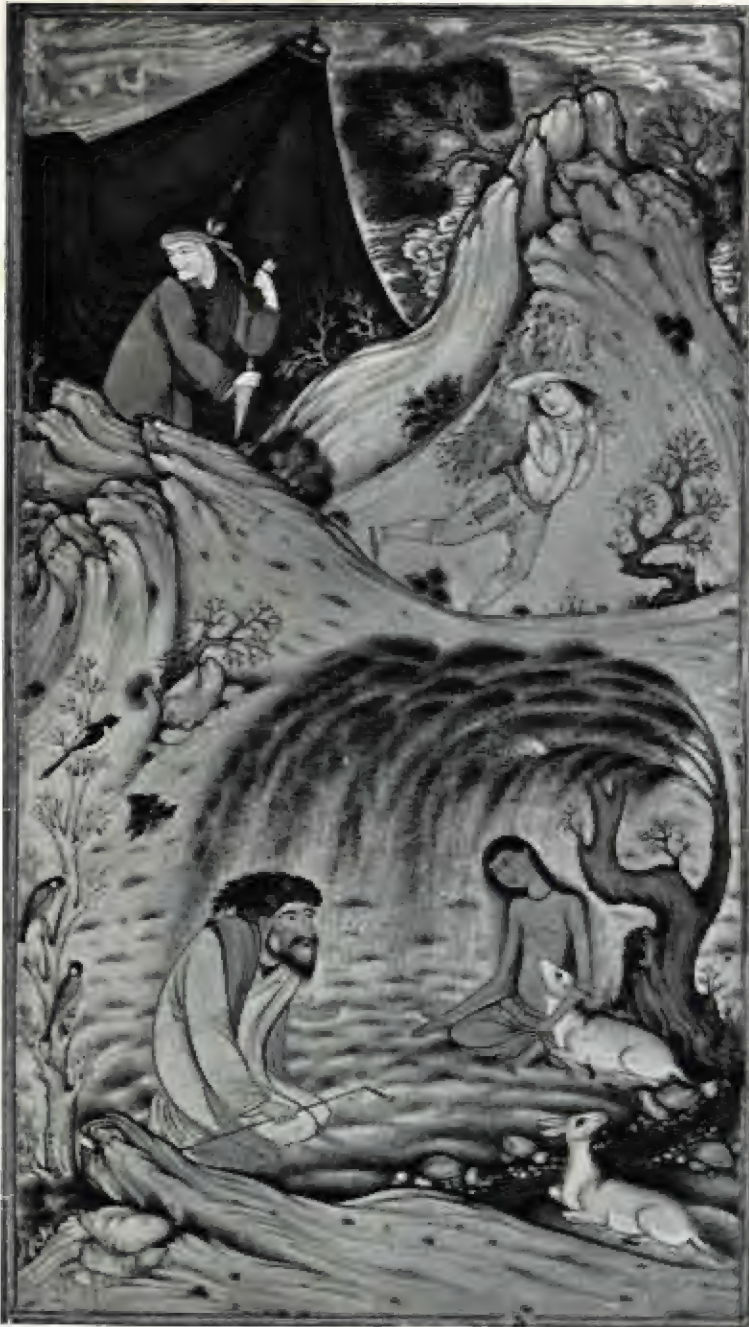


1059. Ḥāfiẓ and his youthful companions. 1593
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1063. Girl dancing before a youth, by Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Khānī.
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1072. Salīm visiting Majnūn in the desert. *c.* 1650
MS. Ouseley Add. 171, f. 1 b



1048. 'Practice makes perfect,' c. 1575

MS. Ouseley 316, f. 199 *b*



1049. Battle between Iskandar and Dara, c. 1575

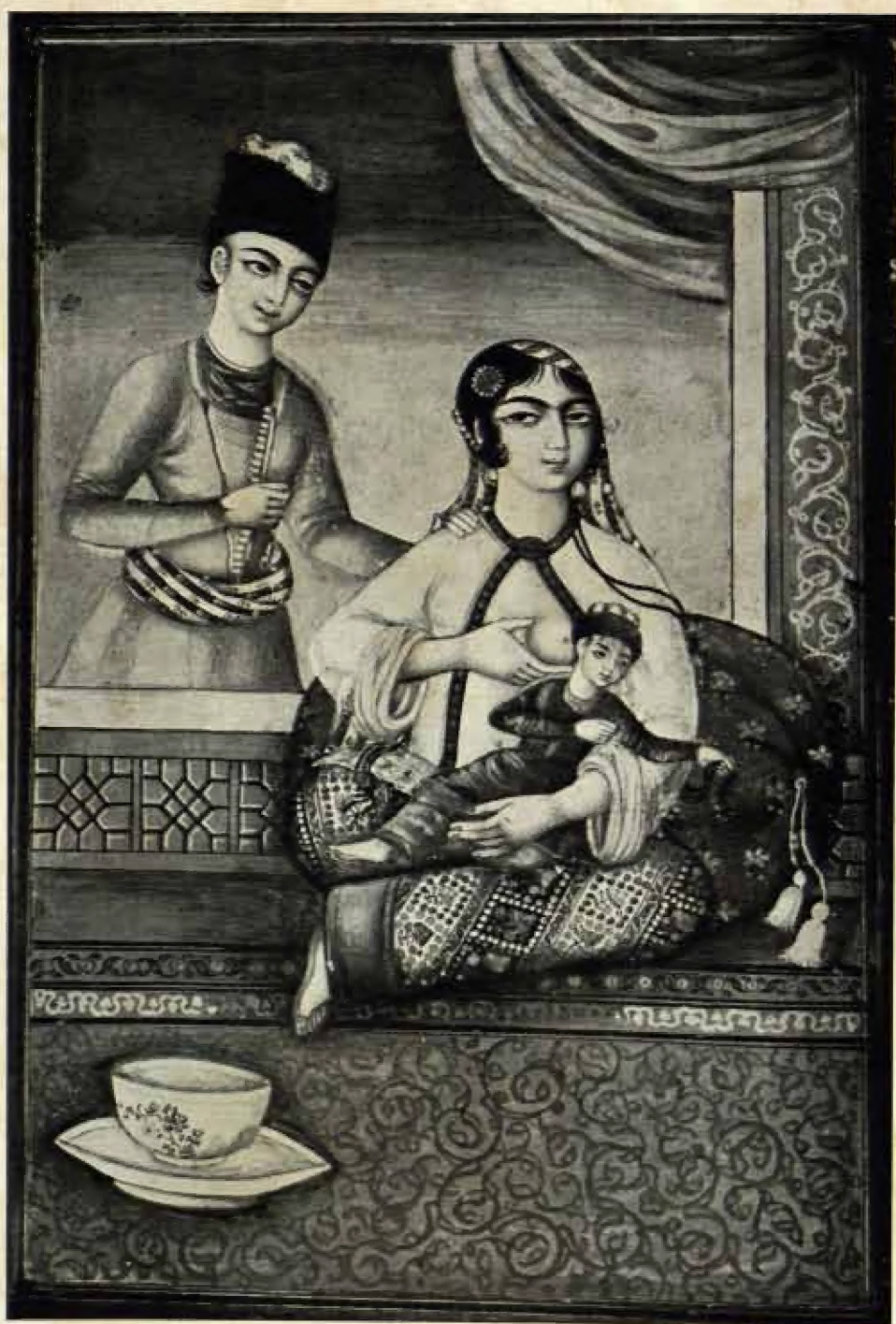
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1198. Fath 'Ali Shāh receiving tribute, c. 1810
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1203. Fath 'Ali Shāh in battle against the Russians, c. 1810
MS, Elliott 327, f. 355 a



1221. A family group. c. 1810
MS. Ouseley 297, No. 8



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